SEPTEMBER 35¢

United Nations WORLD

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

Bertrand Russell on Man's Future

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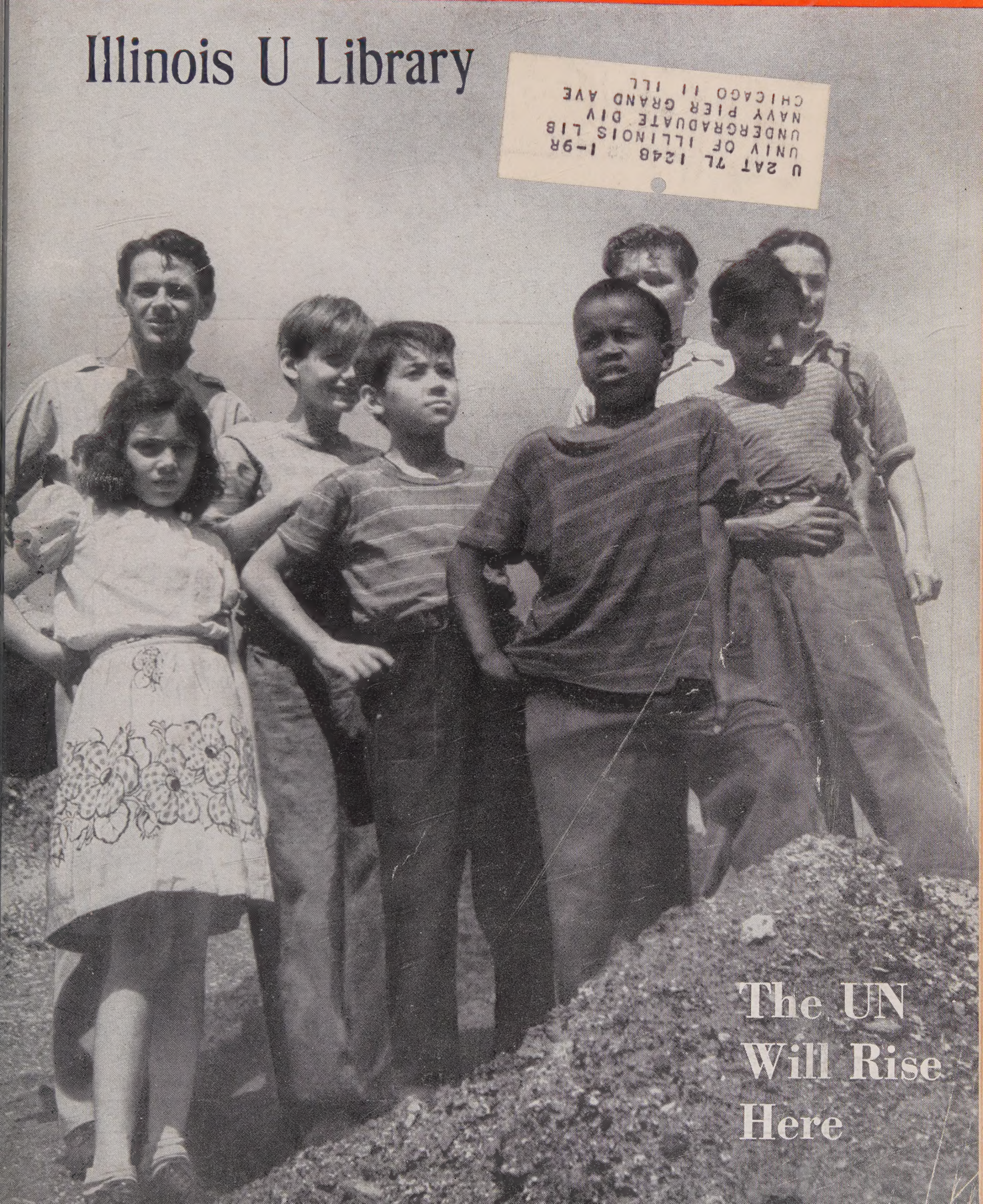

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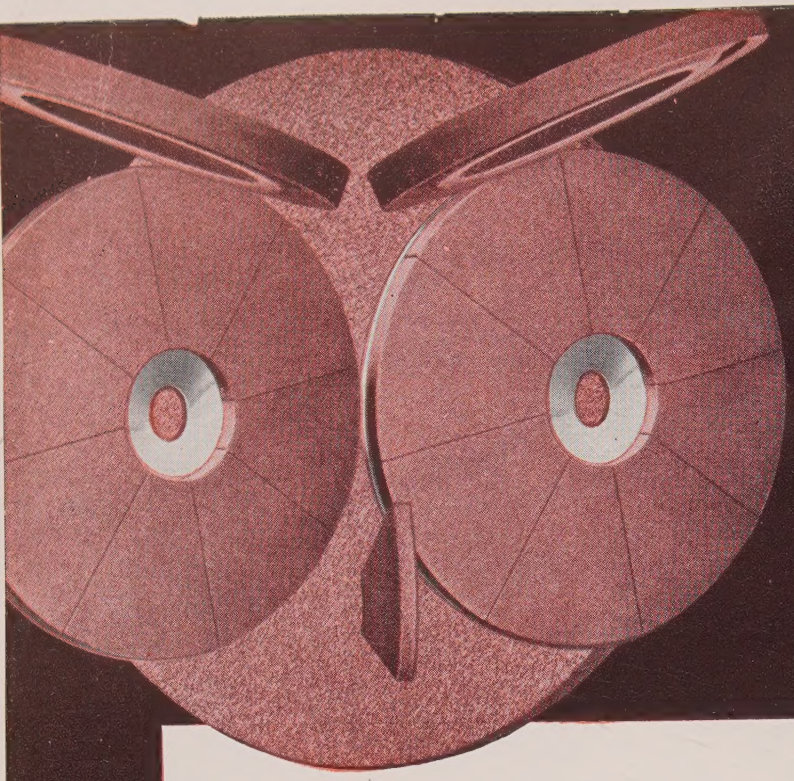

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STATE OF THE WORLD

AN INSIDE REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—
ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATION OF WORLD
POLITICAL, MILITARY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOVES

China Turns Against Chiang

Revolt Expected by "Double Ten" (October 10)

The current preoccupation with the Berlin crisis and with the crucial problem of Germany has pushed into the distant background its twin pole of world tension—the increasingly explosive situation in China and throughout South-East Asia.

From various Chinese sources come broad hints of the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek, without bloodshed if possible, by violence if necessary. Rumors have been flying too thickly to be ignored.

The most specific is that on or after "Double Ten"—October 10, which is the anniversary of China's independence—the Hong Kong group of Kuomintang members who oppose Chiang will meet with Communists to plan a coalition government, with Peiping as its capital. Connected with this report is the name of the formidable old "Christian General" Feng Yu-hsiang. Marshal Feng, who had been in the United States for some time, has suddenly left by way of Canada.

■ Another rumor says that Vice-President Li Tsung-jen, who has been in Peiping, had been holding "feeble negotiations" with the Communists.

■ Former Premier Chang Chun had to deny a report that he had been in secret conference with the Communist leader Chou En-lai.

■ From Lanchow in the Northwest came a curious story that Gen. Chang Chih-chung, Kuomintang boss there, had received from Chou En-lai apologies for the Communist invasion of Kansu and assurance that Lanchow would not be attacked so long as Chang was there. General Chang spoke smilingly of his friendship with Chou En-lai and said that peace negotiations are the only way to end the civil war.

It is to be noted that the several war-lords mentioned in these rumors are former subordinates of Feng Yu-hsiang and still loyal to him. The Communists are saying that the United States has decided to back the war-lords in starting a "peace movement" with the idea of eliminating Chiang Kai-shek.

The balance of power in China has shifted drastically within the last few months. A year ago Communist forces were strong mainly in the north—occupying major portions of Manchuria, fighting on fluid guerilla fronts in Inner Mongolia and North China and held on to scattered "islands" elsewhere. They controlled altogether an estimated 90-100 million people. Today they have won a vast new territory in North and moved into Central China and now control areas populated by almost 150 million.

Meanwhile, the Kuomintang showed signs of desperation.

■ Premier Wong Wen-hao, who has perhaps the most unhappy position in China, admitted that the nation was "facing the peril of life or death."

■ Nearly 500 Kuomintang leaders held a conference and decided that the Party must be completely overhauled and "adapted to new conditions."

■ From Changchun, in Manchuria, where 800,000 people are besieged by the Communists, the Red Cross, the churches and other organizations sent a joint message saying that the situation is much more critical than that of Berlin.

■ The value of the US dollar has gone up to $10,000,000 Chinese. The rate at which prices are rising has passed from the arithmetical through the geometrical to the astronomical. Money is no longer a measure of wealth. Commodities, rice or silk, personal possessions, shoes or jewelry, are the yardsticks. Barter has become a major element in the exchange of goods and services. A simple transaction today requires a barrow load of small-denomination bills; the government's printing presses can hardly turn out enough high denomination currency. The ever-widening gap between soaring prices and lagging income hourly intensifies the suffering of the people, and heightens social and political unrest.

■ The land tax was again increased, at the risk of alienating still more peasants and land-owners. . . . Summer floods have begun, the worst since 1931, ruining rice crops when food is already seriously short. . . . The government has suffered more military defeats in various areas and great numbers of its troops are deserting to the Communists.

Anything can happen. But in the judgment of many impartial Chinese, the only alternatives now are (a) peace and a coalition government or (b) a Communist break-through which will sweep southward across all of China, and perhaps all the way through Burma, Siam and Malaya to Singapore.

Both US and USSR have vital stakes in the struggle between Kuomintang and Communist China. If the civil war is not stopped very soon, it may lead, it is almost bound to lead, to direct involvement of the Big Three.

MALAYA: Rubber exports are falling off as the British settle down for a long war with the guerrillas who, led by Chinese Communists, are destroying estates and murdering foreign managers. British Commissioner MacDonald charges that the Communists

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State of the World *continued*

had planned to set up a Malayan Communist republic and to seize Singapore.

INDIA: At the close of its first year of freedom, India's vast constructive plans were largely stalled by strife. Prime Minister Nehru struck out against the Communists because "in the name of an economic doctrine they are trying to coerce and commit all manner of atrocities." Communist agitators were even working with the feudal leaders of Hyderabad, with whom they can have nothing in common except "to create trouble and chaos."

Nehru was equally stern with Hyderabad, the only State which has not acceded either to India or Pakistan. Its government, he said, "is practically run by gangster elements." He said that in no circumstances will the independence of Hyderabad be accepted, and that there will be no war, but if necessary, "we shall have military operations."

In a White Paper the Nizam, richest man in the world, is attacked as "medieval and Fascist." The Nizam is seeking support from British Tories. When Churchill spoke up for him in Commons, Prime Minister Attlee accused Churchill of standing for the rights of rulers rather than the rights of people. . . . Another unpretty picture of Indian princedom was drawn when the Legislature of Baroda demanded that the Gaekwar resign, charging him with wasting $10,000,000 in a six-week "spending spree" last spring, while "famine is staring us in the face in part of the State." (See UNW, June, 1948.)

The Chile Unwelcome

IN WINTRY August, President Gonzales Videla of Chile signed a new decree regulating the entry of aliens into the country. A camouflaged Exclusion Act, its chief aim is to bar Jews from entering Chile. A secret and unwritten agreement now exists between a number of Latin American republics to stop Jewish immigration to their countries, ev excluding persons in possession valid travel documents for which th paid fabulous sums to greedy "hon ary" consuls of some of these cou tries.

Hardest hit are thousands w planned to go to Cuba. Having pa substantial sums for their visas a considerable bribes to middlem who "accelerated issuance," they a now told that all visas issued duri recent months have been summar cancelled. Nothing is said about funds.

The countries which now bar Je from their shores are those whi voted against partition of Palestine abstained, like Chile.

A preliminary UNW survey sho that such official anti-Semitism the involved governments is n shared by their peoples. The tra tional humanitarianism of the war hearted Latin American preclud such a Hitlerian twist in the nation character. The new trend reflects alarming increase of Falangist inf ence in the Western Hemisphere.

Spy Scares Everywhere

FROM WASHINGTON to Moscow, Prague and Budapest, investig tions "reveal" espionage activities. is the familiar symptom of the po war world. The Washington spy hu looks back to World War II. Wal Lippmann described the investigati as a "footnote to what is now ancie history," adding "the inquiry abo what happened in 1943 to 1945 do not add one iota to the security of t United States in 1948."

■ Without Washington fanfar Czechoslovakia is conducting a mo topical spy hunt. Prague authorit accuse a "Captain Willy" as "chief the espionage ring" which the U Counter Intelligence Corps allege directs from Germany. One Mil Choc is the star witness of this quiry, testifying that he and oth had orders to assassinate pro-Co munist leaders, including Gene Ludwik Swoboda, War Minister.

Meantime, Czech generals flee

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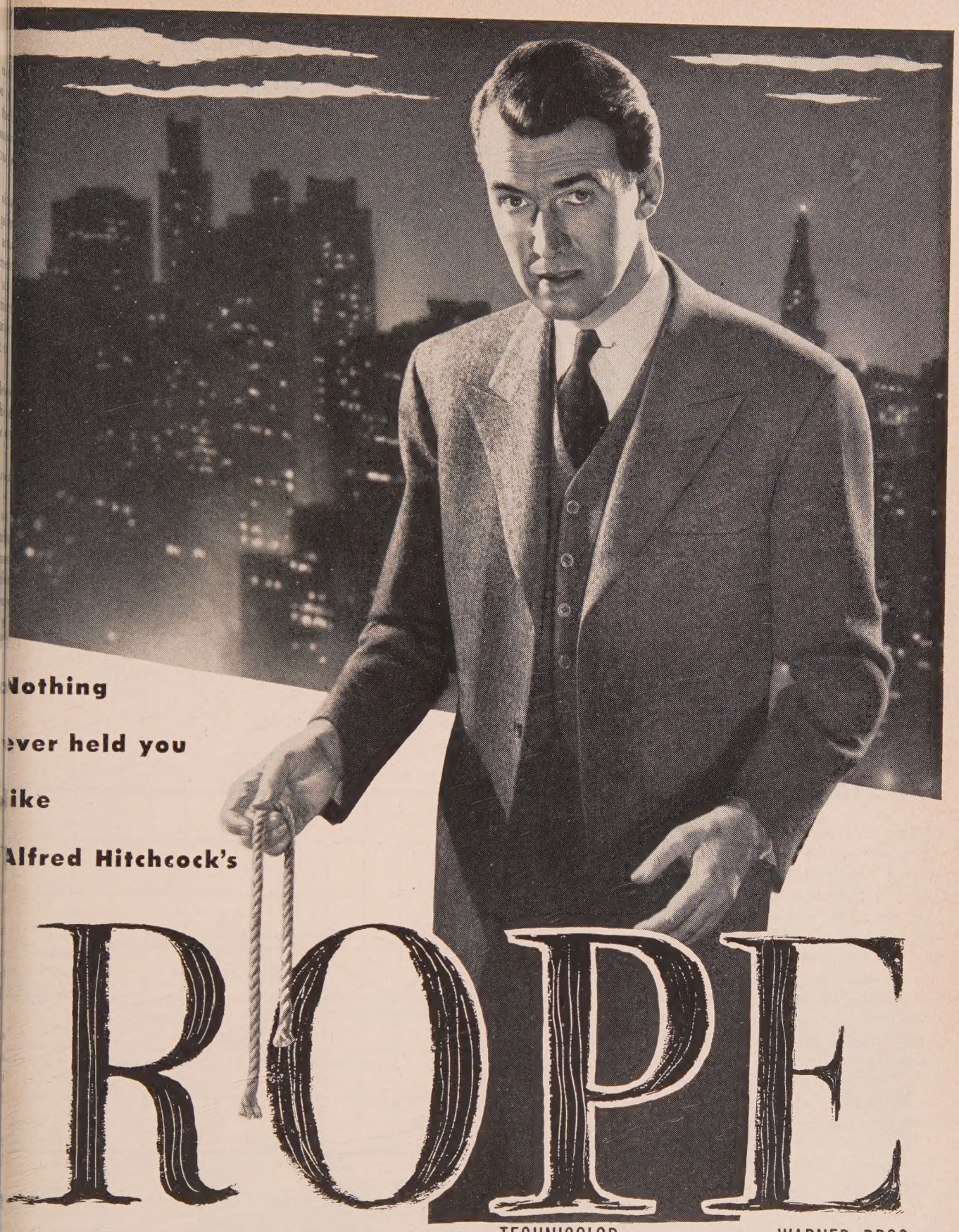

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the country increased to 16—not including General Swoboda. On the contrary, he is purging the army. Addressing graduating cadets at Hranice Military Academy, Swoboda said: "We are building up a new type of national and democratic army. . . . The fundamental characteristic of our People's Army is . . . its knowledge of the identity of interests with the Slav nations."

■ In Hungary the AVO, General Peter Gabor's secret police, arrested among others Ferenc Kiss, former London correspondent of *Az Est*, Budapest's greatest pre-war daily. Kiss, a newspaperman of international reputation and known western sympathies, is accused of co-operation with another journalist, Lajos Lederer, said to be an "agent of the British Intelligence Service." In reality, both men confined their work to the legitimate activities of foreign correspondents, even though not all of their copy was intended for publication.

Inside Story— The Tildy Case

THE BUDAPEST spy scare helped cover up the political crisis involving the resignation of Zoltan Tildy as President of Hungary. Behind his action was black marketeering, in which not he but his wife was involved. Officially, charges were preferred only against young Victor Csornoki, Tildy's son-in-law; but Csornoki was merely a member of the syndicate. At its head was the energetic ex-First Lady of Hungary, who amassed a considerable fortune in transactions violating Hungary's stringent currency regulations.

The President, a quiet, mellow little man of simple tastes and great personal integrity, was completely unaware of those deals—one wag commented that "Tildy was the only man in Hungary who didn't know what was going on in the presidential household." He was told only when Madame Tildy's bold deals through her son-in-law's Cairo legation could no longer be hushed up. Thereupon he resigned.

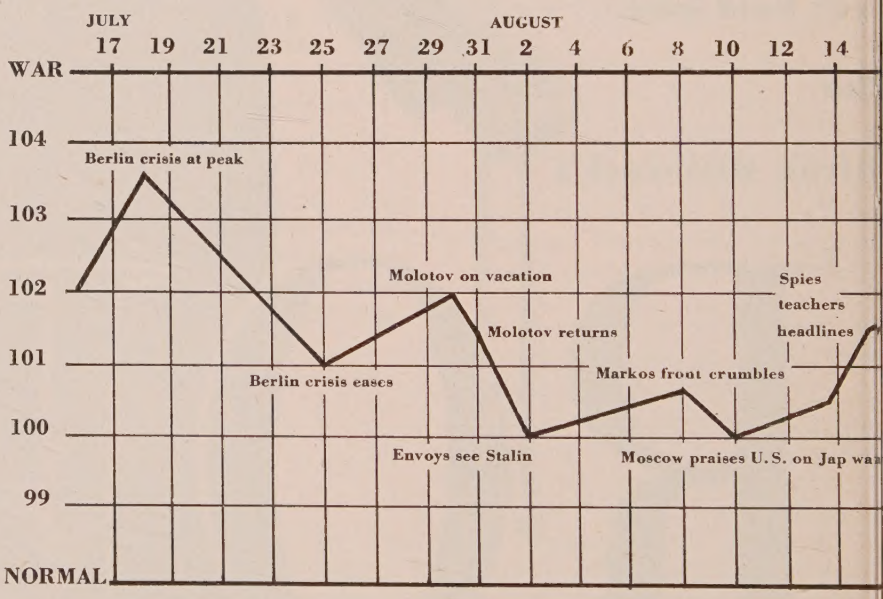
NEPOTISM, ETC.: The Hungarian bureaucracy is remarkably corrupt, not even the Communists being pure. Deals surpassing Madame Tildy's are credited to the lawyer-son of Zoltán Vass, economic dictator and a Communist stalwart long exiled in Russia. The Socialist ex-envoy to Stockholm, William Boehm, was accused of nepotism as was Arpád Szakasits, Tildy's successor.

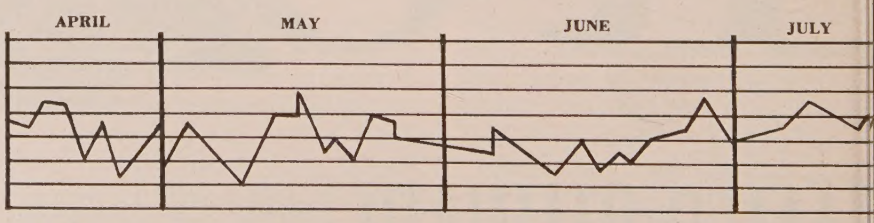
■ Former Interior Minister Rajk, a Communist, also has family-political troubles. At least two of his brothers have been revealed as belonging the Arrow Cross, Hungary's bloo wartime Nazi army. Rajk's rece transfer to the Foreign Ministry partly because of his reluctance deal with his own family as energe cally as with other Nazis.

■ Virtually the only prominent Co munist not involved in charges gossip is Ernö Gerö, an ascetic who political activities are subordinated the country's reconstruction. Thou Vice-Premier Rákosi rides the Hu garian bandwagon, the Kremlin cas a fondly approving eye on Ger Greatest of all his virtues is pop larity among the people—somethi few Communist leaders enjoy in Hu gary.

RUMANIA: Foreign Minister A Pauker has taken over leadership the Cominform. Today she is the mo powerful non-Russian personality Eastern Europe. But she may thi with Omar Khayyam: "Fill the c that clears *Today* of past regrets a future fears: *Tomorrow* I may be m self with Yesterday's seven thousa years."

FEVER CHART OF WORLD TENSION





THE BERLIN CRISIS pushed tension to a dangerously high point on July 18, but line dropped shortly. Low points: August 2 when western envoys visited Stalin a again on August 10 when Moscow praised the US record in the war against Jap

THOMAS MANN ON—

Germany And Peace

See page 13

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State of the World *continued*

Policy Switch in the Middle East

ERNEST BEVIN is no longer in charge of Britain's Middle Eastern policy. Young Secretary of State, Hector McNeil, supervising a *new* policy, is insisting on "strict neutrality"—moving toward early *de facto* recognition of Israel.

Behind *rapprochement* is Alec Seath Kirkbride, British Minister to Transjordan, brilliant, liberal, scholarly diplomat, active in the area since 1921. Kirkbride persistently counseled Abdullah against involvement in a Palestine war. He had several behind-the-scenes clashes with UN adviser Harold Beeley, chief architect of Britain's disastrous Middle Eastern policy.

With McNeil at the helm, and Sir Stafford Cripps *insisting* on a more understanding attitude toward Israel, Kirkbride's star is certain to rise, his influence for tranquility—to increase (see page 8). Kirkbride is supported by the War Office where Field Marshal Montgomery and his advisers have developed a healthy respect for Haganah's 70,000 disciplined, battle-seasoned soldiers.

LONDON: In a major diplomatic pronouncement to be published in the next issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin will oppose the revision of the UN Charter. He thus expresses the British Labor Party's growing confidence in the United Nations, as a result of careful re-evaluation of its purposes and performance.

Bevin himself is trying to husband his energies and nurse his failing health. While retaining overall direction of Britain's complex foreign affairs, he is delegating details to a fine galaxy of younger men, including Hector McNeil, Sir William Strang, Maj. Christopher P. Mayhew and H. M. G. Jebb. During the tensest days of the Moscow crisis, Mr. Bevin spent long hours — watching the Olympic Games in Wembley Stadium. However, his passion for sports was insufficient to keep him from a conference with Prime Minister Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium who had come to London to achieve closer integration of Anglo-French-Benelux relations. M. Spaak returned to Brussels without tangible results.

Then the Olympic Games regained Mr. Bevin's attention.

Muscles Mix With Politics

POLITICS RAISED its ugly he promptly after the Fourteen Olympic games closed in Lond August 14. The decision of a f Czech and Hungarian athletes to r main in London was seized on a represented as a natural sequel to t two Russian teachers' determinati to remain in the US instead of goi back to Russia.

The British press, recognizing sharp cold-war coup, devoted mo space to the political showing of t athletes than to their sporting pe formances. The British Home Offi kept its immigration officers on du all day Sunday—but the "rush of a plicants" scarcely justified such a d parture from British bureaucra tradition.

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UNW'S EDITOR Louis Dolivet bore t engraved invitation as a "ticket" wh he saw the Olympic Games. Mr. Doli sat in the Royal Box with British ca net members Bevin and Noel-Bak

15-Second Report—THE STATE OF THE WORL

POLITICALLY: *High voltage static over Moscow, Berlin, Ne York, Washington;*

ECONOMICALLY: *Rainbow portends East-West co-operation*

MORALLY: *Headline hysteria obscures basic improv ment;*

MILITARILY: *Gunfire in East Asia heard around the worl*

EDUCATIONALLY: *Long Island summer seminar shows the wa (see page 60)*

THE UN: *Disturbed by sniping, reassured by Trygv Lie's firm position on four power confli over Germany.*

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COMINFORM CONTROVERSY

June 30, Belgrade. Yugoslav Communist Party platform demands Balkan Federation of Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia. (172:48)

July 1, Belgrade. Statement by the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party warns "our Bulgarian brothers in a comradely manner" that Yugoslavia is solidly behind Tito. (172:48a)

July 2, Belgrade. People's Front of Belgrade asks Stalin to disavow Cominform, reinstate Yugoslav Communist party.

Yugoslav government sends three notes to Albania, two concerning a mission to Yugoslavia, re: building Yugoslav-Albanian railway, the third charging insult to Yugoslav colonel assigned to Albanian army. (172:48b)

July 3, Belgrade. Yugoslav government announces Albania had unilaterally cancelled two long-term trade agreements with Yugoslavia, expelled all Yugoslav advisers, technicians, teachers and dissolved the Albanian-Yugoslav customs union. It insists it will not recognize Albania's action in declaring the cultural and economic agreements "null and void." (172:48c)

July 4, Belgrade. Yugoslav Communist Party invites all Communists to its fifth Congress; announces Yugoslav foreign policy will remain unchanged. (172:48d)

July 5, Belgrade. Yugoslavia's propaganda chief of the Central Committee, Milovan Djilas, declares Yugoslavia cannot be isolated from the Cominform. (172:48s)

July 5, Belgrade. Bulgaria-Yugoslav cultural agreement provides for cooperation at least until July, 1949. (172:48f)

July 7, Moscow. USSR Communist Party refuses invitation to Yugoslav Communist Congress on July 21st. (172:48g)

July 10, Various. The Czechoslovak, French, Hungarian and Italian Communists refuse Yugoslav invitation. (172:48h)

PALESTINE

July 15, Lake Success. US resolution naming Palestine a threat to peace under Article 39 of Charter, calling for immediate cease fire under threat of sanctions. Adopted by Security Council. Went into effect July 18.

July 27, Lake Success. Syrian resolution to ask International Court of Justice for advisory opinion on legal status of Palestine rejected by Security Council. (173:48)

July 30, Lake Success. Bernadotte's first report on truce violations. (173a:48)

US DEMANDS USSR RETURN LEND-LEASE SHIPS

July 2, Washington. State Department demands immediate return of twenty-eight naval frigates and three ice breakers; requests payment to US owners for patent use. (175:48)

SOCIAL SECURITY

July 5, London. National Health Service act passed; provides free medical care.

2. National Insurance Act, provides compulsory insurance covering improved and more uniform scale of benefits for unemployment, sickness, motherhood, widows, orphans, old age and death.

3. Industrial Injuries Act, places workmen's compensation under Government.

4. National Assistance Act transfers the functions of relief and welfare from local to National Government. (176:48)

US-HUNGARIAN EXCHANGE

July 9, Washington. US State Department sharply criticizes Hungarian authorities, alleging an apparent systematic campaign to frighten Hungarians from listening to Voice of America broadcast. (178:48)

July 12, Budapest. Hungarian Foreign Ministry protests, declaring Hungarians free to choose any broadcasts. (178:48b)

July 22, Washington. Secretary Marshall accepts Hungarian assurances that "Voice of America" listeners will not be persecuted, adds developments would be watched. (178:48c)

SWISS NOTE TO US, UK, FRANCE

July 12, Berne. Asks neutral arbitration on disposal of German assets in Switzerland, decries "attempts to force the Swiss to adopt the Allied point of view." (180:48)

CLOSE LEND-LEASE ACCOUNT

July 12, Washington. Settlement agreements involving approximately $31,000,000,000 in lend-lease, offset by $6,752,000,000 in reverse lend-lease to the US closed (181:48)

US DEMANDS CZECH APOLOGY

July 19, Prague. US note denies charges of smuggling spies into Czechoslovakia, demands retraction and apology. (182:48)

US—YUGOSLAVIA AGREEMENTS

July 19, Washington. Two agreements settling debts signed.

1. Yugoslavia to pay US $17,000,000 in compensation for American property nationalized and for two transport planes shot down in August of 1946.

2. Yugoslavia to pay US 45,000,000 dinars (approximately $900,000) to settle lend-lease and pre-UNRRA accounts, US to "unfreeze" Yugoslav assets, including $47,000,000 in gold deposited in New York by previous Yugoslav government. (183:48)

ALBANIA DENIES GREEK CHARGES

July 23, Lake Success. Rejected charges of kidnaping Greek children as "a slander and a provocation. . . ." (184:48)

OLSON-TITO INTERVIEW

July 25, Belgrade. In interview Marshal Tito expresses long-standing Yugoslav eagerness to establish (non-political) trade agreements with the US. (185:48)

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CHRISTIAN, JEWISH AND ARAB SCHOLARS UNITE IN

A Plea for Reconciliation and Lasting Peace

CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS, BLOOD TIES ARE CITED IN MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO CONTENDING CAMPS THROUGH EXCLUSIVE AGENCY OF UN WORLD

1. We profoundly deplore the conflict in Palestine, and the suffering and destruction it has already inflicted. It threatens the contestants with ultimate frustration and disaster. It involves the whole world in turmoil and controversy.

Largely the result of a long series of errors engendered by conflicting interests and mutual intolerance, it has now been reduced to the tragic and menacing character of a collision between the rival national aspirations of Arabs and Jews.

2. We believe that this conflict can and must be resolved. It is now so old and so bitter that it has become increasingly futile to assess the relative merits of the opposing claims. These claims are based on events and actions of a generation or more ago, over which few persons now living exercised a determining influence. *De jure* contentions are academic when based on contradictory statements of facts and divergent theorie of international law. It is therefor incumbent on friends of peace to re view the situation as it actually pre sents itself today.

3. As historians familiar with th facts of Arab and Jewish history, w have been deeply impressed by th achievements of both peoples, by th many centuries of productive cultura cooperation between them and by th promise of future mutual economi achievements. History reveals n destined or irreconcilable confli between them. There is between th two a close kinship, in race and lan guage; in environment and socia habits there also is much that is com mon.

Jews and Arabs are blood-brother and share the sublime spiritual her itage of ancient Israel. Jews hav held the highest offices in Ara States: Jews and Arabs have inter changed concepts of the Godhea

prayers, poetic ideas and forms, medical sciences, textile processes, costumes and crafts, musical patterns. Jews and Arabs co-operated repeatedly in cultural achievements.

During the early Middle Ages, Arabic speaking people were in the vanguard of Western civilization. They enriched and transmitted to modern Europe both the Graeco-Roman and the Asiatic cultures of which they are the heirs. Forty millions whose native speech is Arabic have been in contact with contemporary Western culture for a century, absorbing its standards, techniques and aspirations. They are now preparing for active participation in the task of building a world civilization.

The Jews have miraculously survived almost incredible vicissitudes, thanks to their persistent faith in the God of their Prophets and teachers. For more than a century the Jews have also been full partners with the Christians of the West in the cultivation of Western civilization. Indeed, it may be said that the Jews have played a role far more important in the unfolding of Western intellectual and aesthetic life than could reasonably have been expected from their relative numbers. On the other hand, the inevitable reawakening of Arabic energies engendered cultural movements which progressively helped to close the gap between the two.

4. Now, however, though kinship is indisputable, though the omens of history are favorable, and the identity of economic interests is obvious, an intense nationalist conflict and, among extremists on both sides, a blind and dangerous fanaticism has developed.

Nationalistic fervor can create and release immense constructive energies, awaken the finest traditions, consolidate a community in loyalty and mutual service; but exaggerated nationalism can also lead to cultural and political disintegration. This can lead to increasing conflict, continuing waste and ultimate impotence.

5. In this crisis of history, as we enter a new economic and technical epoch, the Arabs and the Jews would gain incalculably by collaborating in the tremendous task of building up the Near and Middle East. In the East, the Jews are few and own only an insignificant part of the available land, which they have cultivated to a state of high productivity. The Arabs are many and multiply rapidly; they possess vast undeveloped territories. If the trained skills of the Jewish community could be fully utilized in developing the latent resources in the hands of the vast Arab masses, both peoples would gain immensely. Nothing can hurt the Jews as much, in the long run, as a restriction of their creative potentialities to the supposed interests of their own people, excluding others. Nothing can hurt the Arabs, in the long run, more than failure to utilize the energies of Jewish and Christian communities in their midst. Five centuries ago Spain tried to eliminate minorities, including especially Jews and Moslems; the subsequent history of Spain is a drastic commentary on the folly of such efforts. A prolonged conflict between Jews and Arabs can be disastrous to both, as well as to world peace. The intransigence which violently affirms that no claims shall be surrendered or even modified is a familiar phase of history, always leading to the same end—defeat for one party, and costly compromise and permanent damage to both.

LONG CONFLICT ENDANGERS JEWS, ARABS, AND WORLD

The undersigned, professional historians, friends of both Jews and Arabs, believe that considerations other than those involved in the immediate debate; fundamental factors of geography, history and culture, if given their due weights, favor a just and permanent solution in Palestine. We believe that gradual reconciliation is both necessary and possible.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

United Nations World is privileged to have been chosen to publish this remarkable appeal of 19 distinguished Orientalists.

Deeply concerned over the tragic situation in the Holy Land, these scholars, upon invitation of the Institute of Near Eastern and Arabic Studies, attended a meeting in New York to review the possibility of peace. Their day-long conference was observed by avowed partisans of the issue. There, for the first time in many years, official delegates of Iraq and Israel sat around the same table, studying a problem common to both, in a spirit of mutual respect.

Among the signatories of the nonpartisan appeal are the greatest living students of the strife-torn region's ancient cultural heritage. Their plea for a tranquil future is deeply founded in their intimate pre-occupation with the Holy Land's heroic past.

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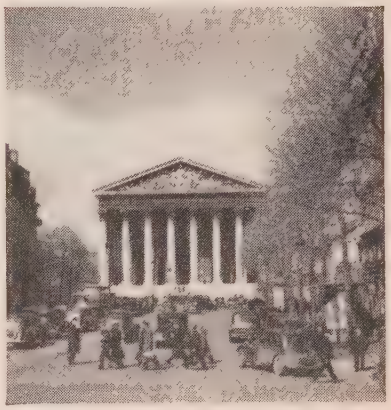

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Letter from the Publisher

ONE YEAR and nine months after the establishment of this, the parent—or maybe should call ourselves the elder brother—edition of UN World, and coincident with t meeting of the General Assembly in Paris on September 21, there will appear the first iss of the British edition of United Nations World.

This is the second younger sib in our family—the Swedish edition having been pu lished since March, 1947.

We are, of course, pleased that our success has inspired our British colleagues to jo our enterprise. Louis Dolivet, International Editor of all editions (who has just returned New York from London) has enlisted as Editor of UNW (British) the brilliant you Member of Parliament and journalist, Francis Noel-Baker. Also on its editorial board, addition to Mr. Noel-Baker, will be Brian Chapman of the *Daily Express*; Sylvian Mange of Reuters; P. V. Daley of Jarrolds and Son (who will publish the magazine); Eirl Roberts; Alan de Rusett of the British Association for the United Nations; John Mille Executive Editor, and George Lassalle, Assistant Executive Editor.

The Board of Governors of the British company consists of the following distinguishe people: Air Vice-Marshal Bennett, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., Sir Harold Butler, K.C., M.G., C.H Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, P.C., K.C., Rt. Hon. Arthur Greenwood, P.C., C.H., M.P Sir Joseph Hallsworth, Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, M.P., Lady Megan Lloyd George, M. P Sir Geoffrey Mander, J.P., Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, P.C., M.P., Sir John Boyd O D.S.O., M.P.

The announcement of UNW (British) has brought a flood of congratulatory messag based on reader-approval of UNW (US). We quote a few:

Winston Churchill: "The production (of United Nations World) in Britain will much to further the cause of the United Nations."

***His Grace** the Archbishop of Canterbury:* "Your proposal to start a British cou terpart of the American publication United Nations World. . . . I should certainly be sympathy with your project and give it my goodwill."

***His Grace** the Archbishop of York:* "It will prove very useful, and bring valuable i mation to many about the nations of the world and the progress which is being made applying the principles of the Charter."

***C. E. M. Joad,** philosopher:* "The magazine commands my warmest sympathy."

***A. P. Wadsworth,** Editor, Manchester Guardian:* "I am glad to hear that you a bringing out an English edition of the United Nations World. I have long been famili with the American publication and have found it very useful."

***J. C. Smuts,** Field Marshal:* "All good wishes for your venture."

***Sir John Boyd Orr,** former Director General FAO:* "I have much pleasure in expres ing my approval of the suggestion that a journal closely associated with the Unit Nations World should be established in countries other than the United States."

We of the American staff extend to our colleagues every good wish and predict a brilliar success for this, the first new magazine for which a paper allotment has been made England since the war.

EGBERT WHIT

PS—

FRANCE'S ELDER STATESMAN ORIENTS EUROPEAN FEDERATION WITHIN THE UN

Paris, August, 1948—I participated with all my energy and I will continue to do so the Movement for the Organization of a European Federation. However, this indispensab movement must never make us lose sight of our primary and final aim which is and remai the international organization embracing the whole human community.

Europe is but one part of the world. The work and the propaganda on the Europea level can be only one part, one means, one complement of the work and the propagand on the world level. This fundamental truth sometimes runs the risk of being misunderstoo That is why I consider the publication which you have undertaken as particularly opportun and I would like to add, as particularly necessary.

I promise to do everything that will depend on me to contribute to its success.

SIGNED: ***LEON BLUM***

Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of France

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THE COVER

The rubble is all that is left of their homes. A group of East-side New York children, young citizens of the UN, listen to a guide describe the world capital that will rise here.

UN WORLD THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

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But it also means close figuring between present needs and present capacity. Even today's record output doesn't give the *extra* reserve of available supply we've always had in the American oil business. This will be true until the full effect of the new, expanded facilities is felt.

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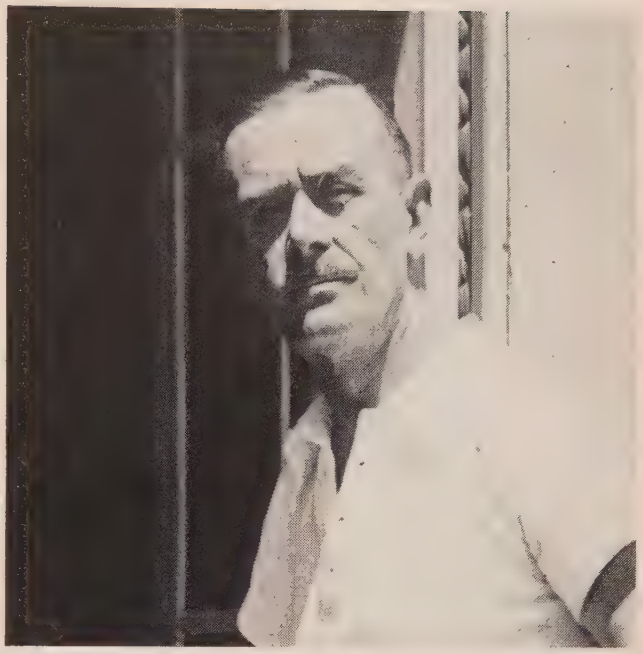
The better you live the more oil you need. And the oil for your needs is on the way!

STANDARD OIL COMPANY (NEW JERSEY)

By Thomas Mann

World-famous American (formerly German) novelist

WHEN RUSSIA
ABANDONS THE POLICE STATE
AND THE US
EMBRACES ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY—
THEN GERMANY
WILL NO LONGER THREATEN THE WORLD



THE AUTHOR — HE SPEAKS ON GERMANY

The Problem Is Not Germany

But Peace Within the United Nations

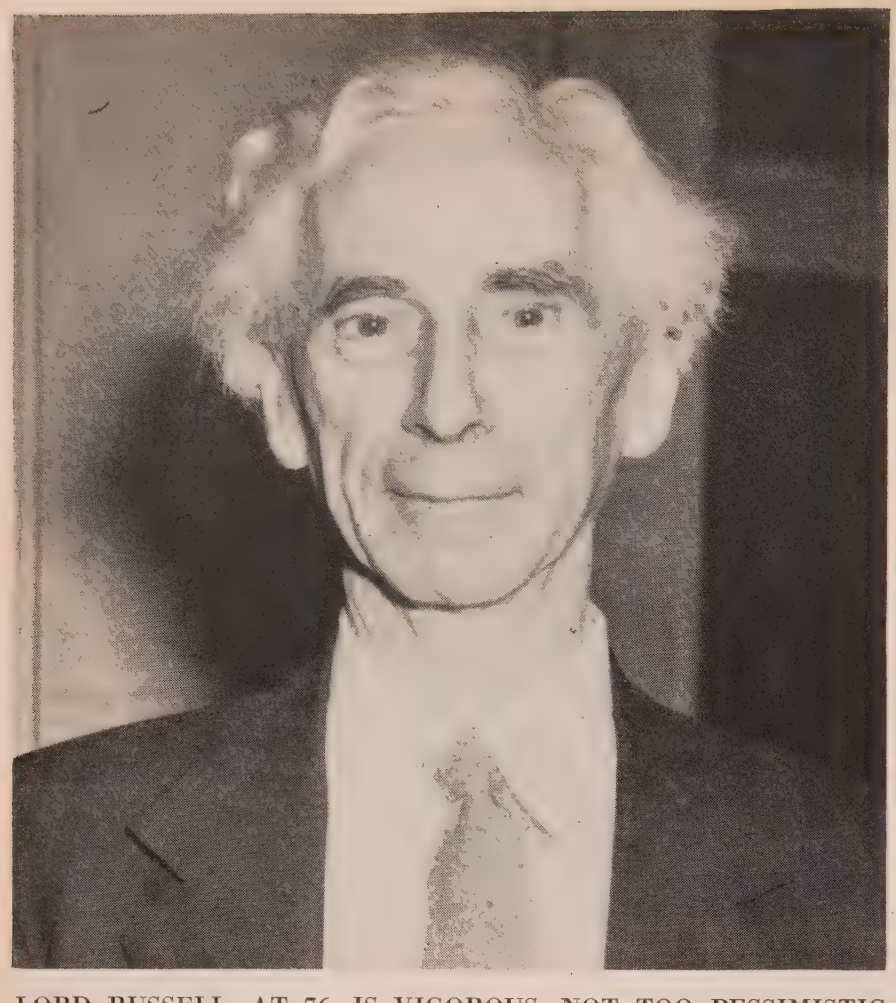
THE GERMAN QUESTION cannot possibly be isolated from the main political, economic and social problems that beset the world. Nor will these problems be solved, or even brought anywhere near their solution, as long at the basic issue—peace—hangs in the balance. It is, then, the resolution between the United States and the Soviet Union which matters most and on which virtually all depends.

If these two great powers were to arrive at a real and durable understanding; if genuine co-operation were to put an end to "the cold war"; if, having achieved "freedom from fear," Russia felt safe enough to abandon the repressive methods of the totalitarian police state, as well as the aggressively defensive attitude characteristic of her present foreign policy, and to evolve towards political democracy; if, freed from her self-assumed, and ruinously costly, obligation, to defend civilization against Russian Communism, America felt safe enough to embrace economic democracy; if, in short, liberated from the specter of the atomic war, humanity were to devote all its energies to the solution of the great tasks that confront us, the German problem could be solved with relative ease.

As part of a world wherein war would have become an utter impossibility, and faced by a combination of powers whom she could not even dream of resisting, Germany—any Germany, reasonably agreed upon within the framework of the United Nations—would be sure to co-operate.

As in any other country, there are —and there always have been—peace-loving, well-meaning and genuinely democratic elements in Germany. Ever since the end of the war, these elements have been continually frustrated, disappointed and rendered more and more impotent. Aggressive nationalists, militarists, adventurers and revenge-seekers, on the other hand—of whom there are, of course, many in today's Germany—have been greatly encouraged by the increasingly apparent disunity among their conquerors and particularly by the existing conflict between the US and the USSR. Nor has the general moral example set by the victorious world been such as to exercise the desired influence and to promote that highly advertised German "re-education."

Let us, first of all, educate ourselves. Let us create a spiritual world climate fit for the best of us to thrive in. And then let us see whether Germany will insist on being an outcast. I, for one, do not think she will.



LORD RUSSELL, AT 76, IS VIGOROUS, NOT TOO PESSIMISTIC

EVER since men were sufficient civilized to combine in lar communities, the chief aims of colle tive action have been to keep ali one's own society and to exterminа or subjugate those of neighbori nations. Most wars have been acco panied and exacerbated by a confl of "ideologies," in which victory h decided what was to be consider "truth."

Should the Sabbath be observed Saturday or Sunday? Is it pork beef that is unclean? Should m worship the sun or the Christi God? These questions were decid by the armies of Titus, the prowe of the Great Mogul, and the warli enterprise of the Conquistadores.

Is communism or capitalism t better economic system? This que tion remains to be decided, not (all likelihood) by the economists, b by war. Human passions and hum ambitions remain what they we when the ancient Egyptians invent "civilized" war. Always science h supplied new means for the satisfa tion of old lusts.

In general, however, science *per* does not increase the destructivene of war, since, as a rule, it strengthe the defense as much as the attac

Famous British Scientist and Philosopher

Bertrand Russell

Foresees Boredom or Doom in a Scientific World

THESE ARE THE HAZARDS—

Death in atomic or bacterial warfare
Robot slavery under a cruel dictatorship
Or a dull, safe, antiprogenitive existence . .

DR. RUSSELL HOPES BLEAKLY FOR THE BEST

What makes the gravity of the present situation is that recent inventions have done much more for the attack than for the defense. The happy periods in human history are those in which defense is stronger than attack; we, unfortunately, seem to be entering upon a period of the opposite kind. It must be admitted that bacteriological and atomic weapons offer, for the future, opportunities of destruction against which, at present, no adequate defense can be foreseen.

THE FATE THE SCIENTISTS BROUGHT ON THEMSELVES

In old days, men of science did whatever research was important in their own judgment; Newton, Cavendish, Faraday, and Darwin chose their own subjects, and were, intellectually, their own masters. Now, since the usefulness of science in warfare has been recognized by governments, this old freedom is rapidly disappearing. In some countries the disappearance is already complete, in others it is only in process of taking place. Most men engaged in science, especially physicists, need enormously expensive apparatus, which can only be provided by governments of American billionaires. The part played by governments in directing scientific activity is rapidly increasing in importance; it is a matter of international concern when some government kidnaps an eminent physicist. There is no hope of stopping this movement towards the enslavement of scientists, as long as the world continues to be oppresed by the fear of scientific war.

Science itself has brought about this situation, though the men of science had not the faintest intention of leading to any such result.

In consequence of their subjection to governments, men of science are being increasingly compelled to pursue the ends of governments rather than those proper to science. The purposes of governments are partly in harmony with the good of mankind, partly contrary to it; they wish their own country (and to a lesser degree its allies) to be prosperous and powerful, but they wish the countries of enemies or potential enemies to be poor and weak.

The scientist who discovers how to injure others is therefore at least as much honored as the one who shows us how to benefit ourselves. The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, which was once the purpose of science, is lost sight of; there are even philosophers who tell us that there is no such thing. A physicist who wishes to study uranium can have access to any amount of public money, but if he wished to devote equal skill and equal labor to the study of (say) carbon, he would have to persuade his government that he was on the track of a method of inventing robots.

This state of affairs is profoundly distasteful to most men of science, but it is not in their power to do anything except acquiesce or utter protests which are doomed to inevitable futility.

Of course, subjection to the State is not necessarily an evil, except insofar as the purposes of the State are evil. But so long as there are many states, and so long as the danger of war exists, the purposes of states must be partly evil when viewed from the standpoint of mankind as a whole.

Short of a relapse into a pre-scientific society—which could only take place by a process involving widespread starvation and appalling misery—the only cure for this diversion of science to methods of destruction is the creation of a single superstate strong enough to make serious wars impossible. But this is a problem for the politicians, not for the men of science.

Assuming this problem solved—as it must be if a scientific society is to survive—scientific technique *could* become almost wholly beneficent. The increased productivity of labor, which we owe to it, has been hitherto a doubtful boon, since it has been used less to diminish the burden of work than to increase the proportion of the population that can be set apart for the business of war. But if the fear of war were removed, the human race by the help of science could both work less and produce more. There need, in fact, no longer be any abject poverty anywhere in the world.

Science has already achieved immense triumphs in the prolongation of life and the diminution of disease. Given the better economic conditions that might come with the abolition of war, a great deal more could be done in this direction even without any improvement in medicine; and there is of course every reason to expect that improvement in medicine will continue. If, however, a lower death rate is not to lead to overpopulation, it will be necessary that the birth rate should be low, not only in those Western countries where this is already the case, but everywhere.

At present, for nationalistic reasons, government desire for a high birth rate is a cause and incentive of war; but if the danger of war were removed we might hope that a less insane policy would prevail. It is obvious that if war is eliminated and the death rate from diseases much diminished, only a very general low birth rate can prevent a worldwide shortage of food. For a time, this might be prevented by the application of more science to agriculture, but in the long run, if the population of the globe continues to increase, it must become impossible to feed it. A scientific society, therefore, can only be stable if the birth rate is so low as not to lead to any appreciable increase of population.

A SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY CAN BE DULL—OR VICIOUS

Given a low birth rate and a system making large scale wars impossible, a scientific society may be stable, which it is not at present. But, though stable, it might contain little or nothing that, according to existing standards of value, would deserve to be admired.

Ever since the invention of gunpowder, every advance in scientific technique has increased the power of the State. Up to a point, this is an unquestionable gain; almost any government is better than anarchy. But until recently governments which were very bad could be removed by revolution, and this put a limit to what was practicable in the way of tyranny. Now, as a result of scientific technique there appears to be no such limit.

Given control of the police and the armed forces, an oligarchy, however small, can exterminate political opponents, and by means of a monopoly of education and the press can, within a generation, persuade almost all its subjects that it is enlightened and benevolent, and has no aims except the national welfare.

It can, meanwhile, devote its energies to stabilizing its own power and to increasing its own wealth at the expense of the powerless. And with every increase of injustice and despotism it can enhance its popularity,

since no means exist of telling truths or refuting falsehods except when the government so desires.

This is not a fancy picture. It has been achieved in Russia where the Bolsheviks, at first, were hardly 1 per cent of the population. If it is not to happen everywhere, democracy must be preserved and strengthened:

- There must be publicity for facts that the government wishes to conceal and for opinions that it wishes to silence.
- There must be constitutional means of bringing about a change of government.
- The authorities must not have power to deprive people of liberty or of food except by due process of law, and the judges must be independent of the executive.
- Accusations brought by the authorities against political opponents—for example, that they are plotting the forcible overthrow of the government—must be investigated carefully, impartially and critically, and during the investigation the accused must not be exposed to torture by the police.
- A man's wife and children must not be punished for his sins.

All these are old-fashioned Liberal demands, which to many people appear out of date. Belief in benevolent despotism, which died out in the 18th Century, has been revived in our time, partly by those who hope to be the despots, and partly from ignorant impatience with existing evils. The result is a real possibility that the scientific society may be of the despotic sort. It is therefore worth while to remind ourselves of the inevitable evils of such a society.

First there are economic evils. The oligarchs are sure to allot to themselves much larger incomes than they permit to the vulgar herd. In Russia at the present day, the percentage difference between the incomes of the rich and the poor is certainly greater than in Britain, and it is estimated by competent authorities to be greater than in the United States. An oligarchic system makes such inequality nearly certain, for in the long run wealth is the result of power. Only equality in the distribution of power can secure economic justice.

Next come cultural evils. In order that those who are deprived of power should not have a sense of injustice, they must be uneducated or miseducated. In a scientific society, the latter has been found the better method. The poor are made to attend school, and have access to reading matter, but what they are taught and what they are allowed to read is what the government thinks good for them, and bears no relation to fact. The average inhabitant of Moscow stares with pitying incredulity at travelers who tell him that there are underground railways in Western cities.

MEN CANNOT BE TRUSTED WITH TOO GREAT POWER

In order to keep up a large scale deception of this kind, there is need of very elaborate precautions against any infiltration of knowledge. This inevitably produces, sooner or later, a dull and stereotyped orthodoxy, which makes all serious intellectual innovation impossible. After some generations of such a regime, the capacity for original thought will have atrophied, and men will merely repeat authoritarian phrases from the books that established the orthodoxy.

Not least of the objections to an oligarchic regime is the probable prevalence of sheer cruelty toward underlings. As regards slavery, this is a commonplace, but it applies to many systems which do not nominally involve slavery. British industrialism was unbelievably inhuman where wage earners had no political power. King Leopold's treatment of the natives of the Congo provoked a scandal, but was only worse in degree than such that Negroes have suffered elsewhere.

In Russia inhumanities not unlike those of the Congo and of early British industrialism are inflicted in the forced labor camps which have become an integral part of the Soviet economy. Human nature is not to be trusted with irresponsible power, and where irresponsible power exists, appalling cruelties are to be expected.

On such grounds, a scientific society, if it is to be such as most people in Western nations can admire, must preserve a vigorous democracy and a considerable measure of cultural freedom. I think that perhaps, even at its best, it is likely to contain less than we could wish of some good things, particularly art.

Human beings are a mixture of social and anarchic impulses, but as society grows more organic the freedom that can be allowed to the anarchic part of human nature grows less. Artistic impulses tend to be connected with anarchic elements, and to die out when life is tame and well regulated.

AGGRESSION: AN EXPRESSION OF SPONTANEITY

If a scientific society is to survive, the self-assertiveness which leads to wars will have to be curbed by authority, and spontaneity will have to be restrained in many directions. It may prove impossible to restrain it in harmful directions without diminishing it in directions that are desirable. If so, safety will have been purchased at the expense of dullness. But this is a doubtful speculation, and we may hope that it is a mistaken one.

Science may be a boon if war can be abolished and democracy and cultural liberty preserved. If this cannot be done, science will precipitate evils greater than any that mankind has ever experienced.

Living Standards Can Be Raised—

SAYS WORLD BANK PRESIDENT

John J. McCloy

See page 49

Pearl Buck Offers

A NOTE ON THE PRICE OF RICE (and power)

PEARL BUCK knows China as few Westerners do. She often knows what is going to happen there before it happens.

THE Chinese people in their age-old common sense have never rushed to rid themselves of tyrants. They are not hurrying now. They believe that Heaven and Nature will perform the act. How do they know when Heaven has decreed against a tyrant? By the simple fact that the price of rice has gone higher than the average man can afford to pay. A good ruler keeps the price of rice down. When he is no longer able to keep it down, it is time for him to go.

Chinese democracy is symbolized in the family, now as always. The Chinese conceive of the relationships of the people to the ruler and his advisers as the same that hold in a family, between the father-head, older brother subordinate-heads and the other members. Chinese democracy, when it takes final shape, will not rest on political machinery but on paternally democratic individuals; and a fatherly man will be the head, to continue in office so long as he is able to hold the respect and trust of the people by keeping the price of rice down.

The essential quality of the Chinese concept of democracy may be found in the rejection of the idea of wholesale merchandising. Two ounces of spring melon, the old story goes, sold for three small cash an ounce. When a rich man said, "What will the price be on a hundred times two ounces?" the answer was, "It is still three small cash for two ounces." Why should the rich be able to buy more cheaply than the poor and so use up all the necessities of life? China is naturally organized against monopolies. Such accumulations as have been made were made under the corrupting conditions fostered by foreign taxes and customs.

At present, the price of rice in China is fabulous, far above the ability of the people to pay. Rice is the basic commodity, and all other commodities are related to it. It is comparable to steel in the United States. Since the Nationalist government can do nothing, apparently, about reducing prices, it is, in the opinion of the people, doomed to fall.

They have watched with interest the efforts of the Americans to bolster this decaying regime. Had the bolstering been able to reduce the price of rice, it would have had significance. But this would have taken many billions of dollars, in fact the taking over and complete reformation of the whole Chinese economy. The Chinese knew that the Americans were not prepared to go so far. Therefore, they have known from the beginning that the present regime was doomed, in spite of small delays.

THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNISTS

The Chinese, having seen that the price of rice has risen above all precedent under the present leaders, know that it is time to look for others. They are scanning their horizons with full confidence. Leaders have always risen from the people and will always rise. It is a question of time. The time has been unduly stretched because of the interference of foreign nations, notably the United States, but the end will come.

What about the Communists?

The question the Chinese people ask is—what sort of men and women are they? Are they Chinese first or Communists first? The Chinese people believe that there are both kinds. The Communists who are Chinese first are those who have got their Communism second-hand, who have never left their native soil. The Communists who are Communists before they are Chinese are the returned Russian-trained students. They "have drunk Communist milk from the breast of Soviet Russia."

The Chinese people believe, generally speaking, that the first group will come back into Chinese life, bringing with them ideas which may revivify their country. But the returned-student Communists will never again be trusted to be loyal to China.

Is it likely, then, that the new leaders will be Communists of the first sort? The Chinese people say Nature forbids. These Communists are men who understand peasants and peasant life but they have no experience in government. Traditionally Chinese government lies in the hands, not of peasants, but of men of learning and philosophy. The new leaders will rise from these again, and in their wisdom they will call upon others who understand peasant life to help them but not control. Again the test will be the price of rice.

The Chinese people are thinking these things, and they wait as they have waited sometimes for a hundred years. They wait until again Heaven and Nature guide their way.

BY LADISLAS FARAGO
Senior Editor

THE propaganda departments of the USSR employ 1,401,000 fulltime, paid, professional workers. This number exceeds by about 400,000 the personnel employed in the political police organization of the MVD. It does not include the millions of Party and State officials who, in their capacity as "political workers," must act as part-time propaganda functionaries, and who in special emergencies swell the numbers engaged in propaganda up to about 5 per cent of the total population.

This standby rank and file, the skeleton of the complex *Agitprop* organism, include graduates of the Sverdlov School of Propaganda or of the Highest Party School; agitators of the Political Administration of the Armed Forces; propagandists of the innumerable regional organizations (there are 25,000 of them in the Leningrad Party Committees alone); thousands of workers, teachers, librarians, motion picture operators, lecturers, and other minor functionaries in the *Agitpunkts* (propaganda centers)—down to an official called "conversationalist." He is the amoeba among Soviet propagandists, a one-man-cell—his efforts aimed at the individual. He disseminates prepared propaganda in seemingly casual conversations with fellow citizens in the Russian town and country. The *Agitprop* regards him as its most valuable prop.

ELECTION-TIME WORKERS NUMBER 3.5 MILLION

Soviet propagandists are rarely allowed a quiet period of routine activities. Like an automobile engine that is purposely kept racing, the Soviet political machinery is deliberately maintained in a perpetual state of stringent haste, permitting no mental relaxation even for occasional short breathing spells.

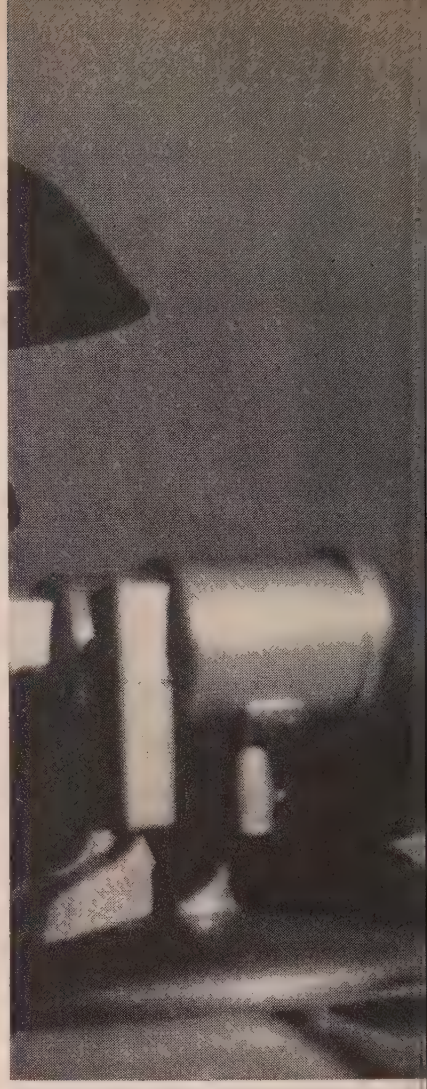
From time to time, the urgent propaganda drive is forced into higher gears. Special campaigns demand partial or full mobilization of propaganda manpower. During a nationwide election campaign "more than 3,500,000 agitators conduct propaganda in the election districts." Propaganda personnel aiding in one recent bond drive numbered 5,000,000. Campaigns to increase agricultural production are conducted by "an army of 1,000,000 rural agitators." An ordinary production drive in the factories involves "the mobilization of 1,500,000 industrial propagandists." (Quotations from *Culture and Life.)*

At one time not so long ago, 300,000 fulltime agitators and propaganda specialists worked on anti-religious campaigns. Though their effort has been abandoned, their influence still survives; and one of them, Fedor Nestorovich Oleshchuk, author of immensely popular reference works on atheism, has become one of the foremost propagandists of the USSR. Oleshchuk is now chief of the Current Affairs Division, the most important division of the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, *the* Agitprop of the Soviet Union. Replacing the atheistic propaganda, nowadays, the Greek Orthodox clergy engages in a propaganda campaign of its own, supporting the Soviet state which in turn supports it. Examples of this strange mutual approval may be examined in the world's most bizarre propaganda periodical, the *Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii* (journal of the Moscow Patriarchate).

Continuing campaigns show infinite variety. One is designed to establish the authority of foremen in factories. This drive, vigorously promoted since May, 1941, under the supervision of S. Karatunov, has been built around a Lenin slogan taken out of context: "The absolute submission of the worker to the will of his superior during his work." Other campaigns promote consumers' co-operatives and drives against laziness; they commemorate the anniversary of Lenin's death or Women's Day; they explain the budget or the origin of the universe. The last represents a recurrent propaganda effort in charge of Prof. P. Parenago.

An immense campaign was conducted to celebrate the publication of the 4th edition of Lenin's works. At the time of this writing, a drive is on against the concept of heredity as the primary factor in development and for the "Soviet concept" that environment is the determining element.

The greatest mobilization involves 10,000,000 propagandists, agitators



YURI LEVITAN, RADIO MOS

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and political workers. It has occurre but twice in history. The first was i 1938, coincident with the publicatio of the *History of the Communis Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshe viks)*, edited by a special commissio of the Central Committee unde Stalin's personal supervision. This i the official version of events, pre sented to fit the Stalinist party lin and to aid in the prevention of un witting deviations from it. A specia decree, issued on November 14, 1938 stated: "The Party had to be give

F ANNOUNCER, READS A STALIN PRONOUNCEMENT

Propaganda

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—AND FOR WHAT AUDIENCES

a uniform directive, presenting the official interpretation of history and of Marxism-Leninism as verified and approved by the Central Committee, to prevent any other arbitrary interpretations."

The second total propaganda mobilization started after World War II and continues today—on behalf of the first postwar Five Year Plan. Based on the old Five Year Plan formula and pinned to Stalin after whom it is named, the campaign is designed to promote reconstruction and rehabilitation. The drive renews itself from year to year, claiming the full energy and time of 10,000,000 Soviet citizens. This means that more than 5 per cent of the 195,000,000 population is working day after day calling the rest to their work benches, the scaffoldings, the mines, the fields.

98 PER CENT GOES FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION

Both the major and the minor campaigns are kindled at the apex of the propaganda hierarchy and then carried like an Olympic torch across the whole land, gaining momentum as they spread. However abstruse some of the themes, slogans or subjects may be, they soon become the major topics of Soviet conversation everywhere—often, as planned, excluding other topics.

The vast army of propagandists employed by the various *Agitprop* agencies emphasizes by itself the orientation of Soviet propaganda. *Its first and major concern is the Soviet citizen.* An analysis of the total Soviet propaganda output in the last prewar year of 1939 and the postwar years of 1946-47 reveals that more than 98 per cent of all propaganda originating in and disseminated by the Soviet Union was *domestic* propaganda. It involved or affected only Russian men, women and children, occupying them with internal problems of everyday life and tasks.

Less than 2 per cent of the Soviet propaganda output of those years was devoted to international affairs, either for home consumption or for dissemination abroad. A long series of directives issued to 400,000 agitators in January, 1947, contained 13 major items the promotion of which was made mandatory. But only one of the items was of a foreign political nature: instructions to discuss British parliamentarianism and to compare it with the Soviet constitutional system.

The directives of the two preceding months (November-December, 1946) contained no reference whatsoever to foreign affairs, except a short note on the Slavic Congress, a matter of some international implications.

Contrary to common belief, the USSR is not, statistically, the leading nation in the field of *international* propaganda. According to a background summary prepared by the US State Department, the USSR occupies third place—consuming only 6.09 per cent of the 4,275 hours and 23 minutes of international broadcasting put on the air daily by 55 nations. Great Britain is in first place with 16.56 per cent—a difference which accurately reflects the varying intensity of Britain's and Russia's direct postwar propaganda efforts in the international sphere.

According to the same State Department survey, the Soviet Union spends only about 25 hours a day

Soviet Propaganda *continued*

broadcasting to European audiences as against 50 hours by the BBC; the USSR is on the air for less than 3 hours a day with broadcasts to Latin America, while BBC broadcasts to that same region about 10 hours a day. Only in broadcasts to the Far East have the Russians an advantage, being on the air for a little over 6 hours a day, as against Britain's 5 hours.

A Soviet inferiority both in position and output exists in other fields of *international* propaganda as well —a fact that may be easily gauged in the US by comparing the sole propaganda bulletin issued by the Soviet Embassy in Washington with the flood of attractive literature emanating from the various propaganda agencies Britain maintains from coast to coast. A subsequent survey of British efforts will show that this example represents the basic distinction between Russian and British propaganda. The former, with its overwhelming national orientation, is chiefly concerned with its own citizens. The latter, with an overwhelming international orientation, is almost exclusively concerned with influencing people and winning friends abroad.

The Soviet Union's constant preoccupation with the ideological indoctrination of its own people reveals that the task is by no means completed, certainly not to the satisfaction of the Bolshevik leadership. This domestic emphasis may reflect a policy which Sir Bernard Pares discovered imbedded in Stalin's statesmanship—reconciliation to the "triumph of socialism in one country." But it may also show a certain uneasiness on the part of the Communist leadership, still doubting the ideological and practical allegiance of its citizens—even with the considerable machinery of the political police at its disposal.

In this respect as in so many others, Lenin's guidance is still accepted today virtually without change or variation. In his report to the Eighth All-Union Congress of the Soviets, Lenin declared: "The dictatorship of the proletariat was successful because it knew how to combine compulsion with persuasion."

Though distinctly subordinating persuasion to compulsion, Lenin was nevertheless beginning an experiment which at that time—in 1920—involved exceptional risks. He introduced a new, constructive propaganda line, to obtain the voluntary participation of the vast non-Communist masses of Russia in the regime of the Bolshevik minority.

The author of this article is an outstanding authority on the theory and technique of propaganda. As the editor of "German Psychological Warfare," he introduced the concept to America in 1940 and thereafter prepared the "Psychological Warfare Manual" of the US Navy. During the war he served in the Office of Naval Intelligence as a director of psychological warfare. Mr. Farago's research for this article was aided by a wartime colleague, Ellsworth L. Raymond, now a fellow of the Herbert Hoover Library of War and Revolution at Stanford University.

In countries such as Britain an the US, the very words "propaganda and "agitation" are frowned upo They are associated with rabble rousers and the political riff-raff Even during the recent war, these na tions labeled as "propaganda" th ideological campaign the Nazi beamed at them. But they describe their own efforts with the mor euphemistic words "psychologica warfare." The Russians reveal n such squeemish attitudes. The word *agitatsiya i propaganda* are cherishe terms in the USSR. Their practition ers are respected officials—the sales men of the Bolshevik ideology, th weavers of the future. The official Po litical Dictionary uses its mellowes terms and greatest eloquence in de fining those two significant words The remarkable one-volume index t Lenin's collected works contain scores of long references to agitatio and propaganda, revealing the dee preoccupation of their author.

A study of Soviet propaganda mus by necessity begin with the basi statements of the founder of th Soviet state. Like his physical body his injunctions concerning propa ganda and agitational work appea embalmed — imperishable, undecay ing. All current writers take thei cues from Lenin who wrote in July 1905: "Propaganda is of crucial im portance for the eventual triumph o the Party." Earlier, in 1902, he ha outlined in amazing detail the orga ization and centralization of propa ganda. In that year, in a letter to th Northern [Russian Workers'] Unio he formulated his definitive ideas o "the role and specific tasks of polit cal agitation and propaganda."

Lenin then proceeded to create doctrinaire form of uncompromisin propaganda founded on the one-part system. He laid down militancy an dogmatism as the two main postu lates of Communist propaganda, bot during revolutionary and post-revo lutionary periods. In two fundamen tal essays on propaganda (the artic "Where To Begin," later expanded i the volume "What is to be done— Burning Questions of our Move ment"), Lenin outlined the "maxi mum program" and the "minimu program" which are still accepted a the alternating revolutionary current by all Communist propagandists ev erywhere in the world. The "maxi mum program" of propaganda an

agitation envisages the eventual Socialist revolution—the conquest of political power by the proletariat. The "minimum program" of propaganda and agitation covers immediate or localized needs — "aims to be achieved *before* the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

LENIN SET THE PATTERN STALIN VARIES IT

With the publication of these two essays, Communist propaganda was given a definite and permanent shape. It was subsequently implemented in a third basic writing, Lenin's *State and Revolution.*

Stalin's practical contributions to the subject are numerous and formidable. But his theoretical contributions are infrequent and negligible. It is customary to link his name with that of Lenin in all political, social and economic doctrines and achievements, but Soviet writers rarely describe Stalin as a propagandist while they often refer to Lenin as a propagandist *par excellence.*

To Lenin propaganda was a primary means to an end, to Stalin it is merely one of many. In his speech to the Eighteenth Congress, Stalin maintained that "the political maturity of the people and a better understanding of Marxist-Leninist principles result in increased productive capacity." This statement is, indeed, a major clue to Stalin's political personality. In it he revealed that he cherishes propaganda largely for its immediate practical usefulness.

Combining Lenin's and Stalin's ideas on the subject, Soviet propaganda of today represents a fusion of compulsion and persuasion, of theory and practice. The current emphasis, however, is on two of the four factors: compulsion and practice.

In 1921, Lenin himself recommended a "realistic approach" to the propaganda concept. His recommendation is fully accepted and faithfully observed in the extremely practical turn given to the current Stalinist propaganda which first took its present direction in 1935 and which was formalized in 1938 in two decrees of the Central Committee. Despite various personnel changes since 1935 —from Stetski to Zhdanov, from Zhdanov to Alexandrov, from Alexandrov to Suslov, the present chief of Soviet propaganda machine — propaganda has remained primarily a weapon in the "war of ideas." Alexandrov described it as "the most valuable weapon of Bolshevism." Suslov recently called it "a victorious weapon for the conquest of millions."

Though propaganda's overwhelming importance is recognized throughout the Soviet hierarchy, it was left to Stalin to express it just a few months ago in simple, eloquent words: "There is hardly need to dwell on the cardinal need for propaganda. If our propaganda should ever be permitted to go lame for one reason or another, our entire state would inevitably collapse."

THE WORKINGS OF THE MACHINE

The execution of the gigantic Soviet propaganda program is entrusted to an immense and intricate network of agencies. In them, as in most Soviet agencies, there exists an organizational dualism.

Not only policy but most of the propaganda efforts and agitational work are the responsibility of the Party. The agency which performs these duties—a sort of Propaganda Ministry—is the Central Committee's Second Bureau, the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation. It is this which is known as "*Agitprop.*" Two other sub-sections of the Central Committee also are devoted to propaganda: the Political Administration of the Section of Military Affairs, and the Propaganda Department of the Section of Foreign Affairs. The latter has charge of the Soviet Union's international propaganda effort, including such activities as those conducted by the Cominform.

In the government, as distinguished from the Party, propaganda is centered in the Ministry of Education. All teachers are, in the final analysis, propaganda functionaries. The Ministry has a number of subsidiary propaganda agencies for administrative or control purposes. Most important of these agencies is the *Glavlit* (Department for Literature and Publishing), established on June 6, 1921, by a resolution of the Russian Council of Peoples' Commissars but subsequently duplicated throughout the Soviet Union.

The 1921 resolution frankly states that the purpose of *Glavlit* is "to maintain the strictest politico-ideological control over printed matter, manuscripts, photographs, paintings, cartoons, etc., intended for publication or distribution, as well as over radio broadcasts, lectures, and exhibitions." Confidential *Glavlit* regulations, dated June 30, 1936, and still in force today, established *Glavlit* as

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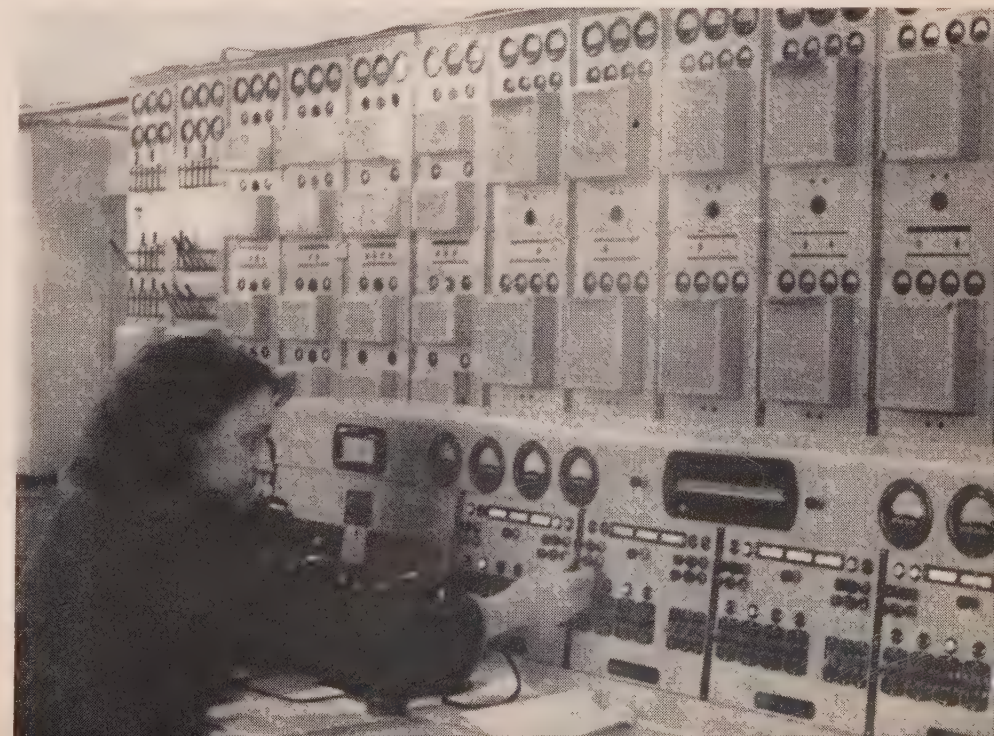


ENGINEER FIRSOVA, at the control of Radio Moscow, operates board through which mortal words of propagandists pass.

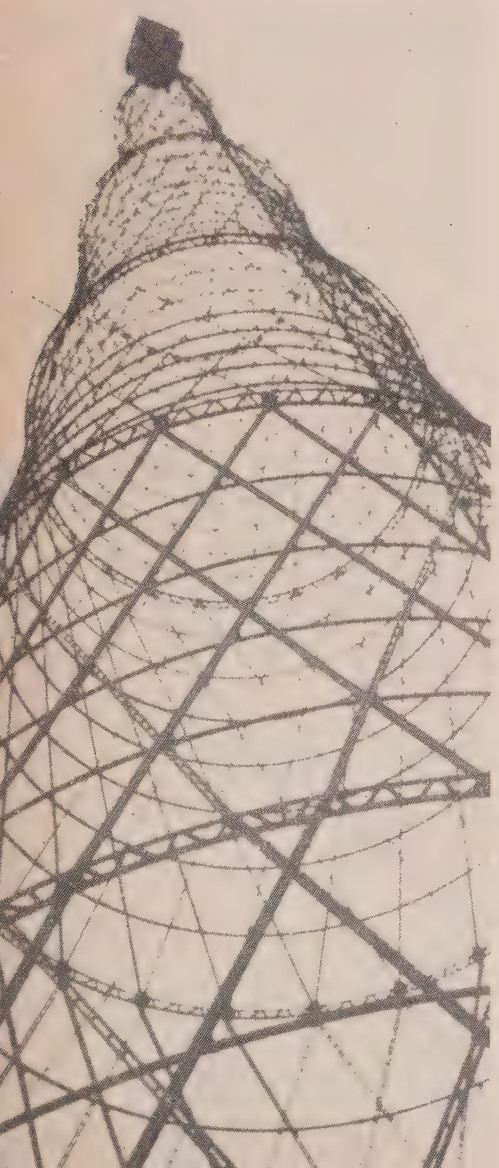
Soviet Propaganda *continued*

the supreme censor and, thereby, as the fountainhead of Soviet culture.

According to this confidential directive, "all periodical and nonperiodical publications, and minor printed material, are subject to obligatory inspection by organs of *Glavlit*, no matter who publishes them."

The same directive also stipulated that all Soviet publications must first be printed in only 28 copies—for the eyes of 28 censors only: 5 in the Central *Glavlit*, 4 in local *Glavlits*, 5 in the press departments, 13 in the publishing house concerned, in addition to the chief censor or *Glavlit Plenipotentiary*, who signs the eventual print order. If no objection is raised, the presses may run and the publication may be disseminated.

TELEVISION BAROQUE



THE GRACEFUL tower of Moscow's Television Center was built in 1933 by students of Communications Academy.

But, the directive further stipulates, "upon receipt of an order from *Glavlit* or any one of its organs, by telephone, telegraph or mail, to suspend publication, all printing must automatically cease, completed books or sheets must be placed in rooms carefully locked and sealed pending further instructions, and not one copy may be issued except to authorized functionaries of *Glavlit*."

Only the following types of printed matter are exempt from *Glavlit* inspection: papers marked "Secret" or "Top Secret," which are printed "in strict accordance with the rules for printing secret documents"; office forms, accounting sheets, chancery blanks and vouchers, advisory notes, travel permits, order forms, company report forms, employee notes, postal wrappers, envelopes, postcards "without text," tickets "without text," notebooks for schools, bookkeeping forms if marked "approved by the Central Administration for Economic Accounting," and the ledgers used in commercial bookkeeping.

However, the directive stipulates, "if such publications contain slogans, printer's blocks or explanations how they are to be filled out, they are subject to inspection by *Glavlit* organs. Confidential materials must also be inspected by *Glavlit*."

In fact, not even Marx, Engels and Lenin are exempt from censorship. A resolution of the Central Committee, dated June 27, 1924, and reaffirmed in 1935, stipulated that all newly discovered Lenin manuscripts, letters and notes must be passed by the censor before they can be published. An official biography of Lenin, "prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute," was scrapped by *Glavlit* in its first version, and had to be completely rewritten before it was passed for publication. A decree of 1938 directed "the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute to correct within the shortest possible time the distortions permitted in the translations of the works of Marx and Engels, as well as the gross political mistakes in th notes to the works of V. I. Leni especially those to Volume 13."

The exceptional powers of *Glavl* are paralleled in a similar orga ization established on February 2 1934. Designated the Supreme Admi istration for the Control of Spe tacles and Repertories, its function "to exercise both preliminary an subsequent politico-ideological co trol over . . . theater, opera, balle concerts, vaudeville, motion pictur as well as phonograph records, radi entertainment, etc." A secret dire tive of this organization, dated N vember 1, 1934, stated explicitl "No dramatic, musical, choreograp ic or circus work, motion picture phonograph record may be public performed or distributed witho preliminary permission from th Supreme Administration for the Co trol of Spectacles and Repertorie To assure continuing control ov the performance of such works, a theatrical, musical, circus and relate enterprises shall allocate two perm nent seats within the first four ro to special representatives of the S preme Administration or its local o gans."

This organ aims to control n only production but creation as we and much of the work of writers an artists is regulated by decrees an resolutions. Thus, for example, a d cree of August 26, 1946, expresse grave dissatisfaction with the level theatrical repertories and *ordere* Soviet writers "to create improve Soviet works of contemporary art."

FROM TOP TO BOTTOM— THE PARTY'S AGITPROP

The real power, however, rests not i agencies of censorship but in the i numerable propaganda organs of th Communist Party. According to th Statutes of the Party, the *Agitpro* is one of seven administrative se tions of the Central Committee, eac having quasi-cabinet status, perform ing the functions of the ministries the State. The other six sections a the Administration of Cadres (Pe sonnel), Organization and Indo trination, Agriculture, Education, Mi itary Affairs, and Foreign Affair *Agitprop* occupies second position i order of importance, behind the A ministration of Cadres.

This organization is duplicate

throughout the hierarchical and geographical organizations of Russian Communism: *okrug, oblast, krai,* city and *raion* committees of the Party. From the bottom to the top of the huge pyramid, each *Agitprop* resembles in structure all the others, except that only the Central Committee at the apex has a Foreign Department.

Agitprop itself is organized in five divisions, the functions of which are officially described in the statute establishing the Administration.

These five main divisions each has several sub-divisions, departments, branches and sections. Most important of all is the Division of Current Events which is also in charge of foreign affairs and co-operates with the *Agitprop* of Comrade Zhdanov.

Although he is not himself a member of the Politbureau, the chief of *Agitprop* ranks among the top 25 Russian leaders. At present this post is occupied by Mikhail Suslov, a relatively young man of about 40 who has been a member of the Central Committee since 1941. During the recent war, Suslov was Party Secretary at Stavropol, commander of effective guerilla forces in the North Caucasus and conductor of clandestine propaganda work in German-occupied areas. His activities pleased Stalin who, in 1945, personally picked Suslov to supervise the crucial task of denazification in the liberated regions of the USSR. In this task, Suslov gained full recognition in Moscow, though for his energy rather than for his intellectual qualities.

In 1947, Suslov was summoned to Moscow and ordered to take over the *Agitprop* from Georgi F. Alexandrov, the young philosopher whose imprint on Soviet propaganda still persists and who, indeed, must be regarded as the originator of all Soviet propaganda principles and techniques in use today. The two men are vastly different: Suslov, a self-made party politician whose intellectual activities have been reflected only in a few articles written for the official journal of the Komsomol, the youth organization; Alexandrov, the suave intellectual, well-versed in party dialectics, popular professor at the Moscow Institute for World Literature, biographer of Aristotle, protege of Malenkov and son-in-law of another Politbureau member, the Ukrainian Krushchev.

Alexandrov resembles Suslov in that he, too, was lifted from obscurity when he was appointed *Agitprop* chief. At that time, in 1939, Soviet propaganda was undergoing a complete revamping. It had just concluded its own purge: its long-time chief, Stetski, had been liquidated and his post temporarily filled by Zhdanov.

However, the publication of the *Short History* and the gargantuan drive planned to establish it as the Soviet Bible, necessitated the immediate appointment of a permanent, efficient chief. Then, in August, 1939, the new Russo-German pact placed an added and unanticipated burden on Soviet propagandists. Party secretaries and chief propagandists were ordered to Moscow to participate in a three-day course of indoctrination so that they might be able better to explain the new pact.

A PHILOSOPHER BECOMES PROPAGANDIST

Malenkov, as Chief of Cadres, was required to name a leader for this course. He remembered Alexandrov who in 1938 had organized a similar course to popularize the *Short History*. Alexandrov got the assignment.

The year 1939 was an auspicious one for the young Professor. Three of his books *(Philosophical Predecessors of Marxism, Survey of a History of New Western Philosophies,* and *Marxism - Leninism on Scientific Prognostication)* had just been published. He was working on another, his classic *Aristotle*. It is ironical that exactly eight years later, in August, 1947, these books were instrumental in bringing about his downfall. But in 1939, he was riding the wave of popularity.

Alexandrov became head of *Agitprop* in its most difficult period—shortly before the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War (he gave it the name) against Germany whose alliance with the USSR he had eloquently applauded only two years before. It was an immense challenge to the young philosopher — to build and preserve Russian morale, to keep the doubters in line, to calm the panic stricken, to salvage whatever he could of Bolshevik ideology in the great nationalistic upsurge.

Between 1941 and 1945, Alexandrov had no time for philosophical treatises. The books he now wrote had such functional titles as *The Canibals' Bible, Teachings of Hatred and Brutality, The Enemy Must Be Beaten*. But by 1946, he again found time to return to his specialty.

By then, too, he had outlived his usefulness. His quiet philosophical and burning patriotic approaches to propaganda and agitation were no longer needed. His orientation toward the classical philosophy of the west was resented. Mikhail Suslov, hard-hitting, non-philosophical organizer and ex-partisan, replaced him.

But Alexandrov's great propaganda ideas still survive in some of the chief leaders of *Agitprop* divisions. Probably closest to him was Prof. M. T. Iovchuk, himself a philosopher who prudently concentrated on Russian rather than western philosophy. He is in charge of the lectures for *Agitprop*—an all-important task involving the supervision of more than 5,000 lecture groups and the direction of over 52,000 fulltime lecturers throughout the vast country.

But Professor Iovchuk finds time to remain an active member of the Philosophy Institute of the Academy of Science, and to co-operate in the editorial collegium of the *Bolshevik*, the Party's chief ideological journal. Iovchuk himself acts as lecturer on an international scale. He frequently turns up in Sofia, Budapest, Prague and other friendly capitals to deliver a lecture entitled "The Philosopher Belinski," his idol, or on "Leninism and the Progressive Russian Movements of the 19th Century." Iovchuk's assistant and probable successor is a young Bolshevik named E. N. Burdzhalov, deputy chief of the Lecture Division.

The Art Division is headed by Pavel Ivanovich Lebedev. Born in 1881, a member of the Party for 46 years, Dr. Lebedev was, between 1921 and 1930, supreme head of the original *Glavlit*, then was chosen president of the Literature Division of the Academy of Science. He is a literary critic and historian of literature of considerable distinction. In addition to the obligatory biography of Nekrasov (Russia's poet of the downtrodden), his works include the widely read *Questions of Modern Literary Criticism*. Dr. Lebedev's position makes him the dictator of Soviet art. His sedate opinions are, however, immensely fortified by Laurenti Beria, his close

friend and himself an art and theater critic of some ability. More important, of course, Beria is also a member of the Politbureau and chief of the secret police, the MVD.

Another philosopher surviving from the Alexandrov era is Prof. P. N. Fedoseev, an assistant chief of the *Agitprop* and editor in chief of *Bolshevik*. His literary activities, like those of Alexandrov, also run the gamut from philosophy to propaganda. His first work, written in 1934, had the title *How Human Society Began*. His latest treatise was entitled *The Red Army is an Army of Liberation*. Together with Oleshchuk, Fedoseev is a veteran of anti-religious propaganda, author of the "forgotten" work: *Stalin on Religion and How to Combat It*. As editor in chief of *Bolshevik*, his ideological influence is considerable. He is a protege of Malenkov.

Aleksandr Mikhailovich Yegolin, another Assistant Chief, supervises the literary output of the Soviet Union within *Agitprop*. He has written no fewer than five books on the poet Nekrasov, the popular hero of all Soviet literary historians.

Yegolin's position was somewhat shaken in 1946-47 when the Politbureau turned its heaviest guns on Russian writers, charging them with failure to invigorate their works with truly Soviet contributions. Such criticism, of course, implied that Yegolin had failed in his job. But he survived the Politbureau's intellectual wrath which was, perhaps significantly, conveyed to the whole nation by Andrei Zhdanov's attack in *Zvezda*, organ of the Union of Soviet Writers, and edited by Yegolin himself.

Yegolin for his part assured his superiors that his division is doing a satisfactory job in his most recent book entitled *Socialist Culture Flourishes in the USSR*.

Chief of motion picture production is V. P. Stepanov, V. N. Prokofiev is the Soviet boss of drama within *Agitprop*, and—to conclude the list of high officials best known for their propaganda activities—I. Tugarinov heads the department in charge of country newspapers.

Aside from a relatively few technical journals published for the initiated specialist in propaganda, every periodical, every leaflet and book published in the USSR serves but one purpose: propaganda. But the printing presses turn out only one of the ten instruments on which Comrade Suslov's 1.5 million musicians play the unfinished symphony of Soviet propaganda. M. Mashukov, chief editor of the manual *Propaganda and Agitation*, listed the other instruments as follows:

1. *Oral propaganda;*
2. *Mass oral propaganda;*
3. *Visual propaganda and agitation;*
4. *Radio propaganda;*
5. *Motion picture propaganda;*
6. *Theatrical propaganda;*
7. *Exhibition propaganda;*
8. *Political propaganda;*
9. *Propaganda of military awareness.*

No single instrument better exemplifies the gigantic scope of Soviet propaganda than a single mysterious radio station, called the Stalin Transmitter. Also called Big Bertha (outside the USSR), the Stalin Transmitter was built at the Generalissimo's personal order somewhere in the Ural Mountains, far beyond the reach of the German invaders.

THE BIG BERTHA OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

The mystery station was built with Lend-Lease material shipped by RCA to *Narkomsviazi* in Kyubyshev. It soon became the Big Bertha of the second World War's all-out propaganda campaign. Starting out with 750 kilowatts, its power was gradually increased until it reached the unheard-of strength of 2,500 kilowatts. It is, by about five times the most powerful station in the world. capable of transmitting medium and long wave broadcasts over unprecedented distances, guaranteeing almost certain clear reception.

Big Bertha was used for a variety of purposes: it jammed German broadcasts beamed to the USSR; and then in turn it beamed effective propaganda to the Germans, and later to the Japanese, penetrating deep into the hinterlands on both fronts; it guided Red pilots all along the combat zones; it served as an over-all electronic aid in many a secret operation.

Its most spectacular feat is revealed here for the first time: Big Bertha was the phantom station which heckled Adolf Hitler and Dr. Paul Josef Goebbels during their most important speeches, shouting "Lies!" and similar invectives on synchronized wavelengths from 1,500 miles away. It was apparently the heckling of this unknown station which more than anything else succeeded in driving Hitler off the air for protracted periods of time.

Today, despite the mounting intensity of the cold war, Big Bertha is relatively quiet. It operates with only 500 kilowatts—but it has 2,000 in reserve—to be used when and if Generalissimo Stalin declares a supreme propaganda emergency.

The Stalin Transmitter is also attached to the propaganda section of Andrei Zhdanov's Department of Foreign Affairs. The tools employed by the 250 men in this department are like Big Bertha, all capable of being heard afar. A propaganda line laid down in Moscow goes out, via the Foreign Affairs Department, to Communist Party magazines, newspapers, bulletins, lecturers, even conversationalists, in every nation where a Party cell exists. The Department is particularly effective through the Cominform and in those countries which belong to that propaganda organization.

Propaganda, whether designed for foreign or for home consumption, is to the USSR what advertising is to the United States. Both strive towards the same goal—to impose a collective design on men and to make them act according to that design. In a sense American advertising is more successful than Soviet propaganda. The latter represents a sublimated form of persuasion inasmuch as it retains, for better or for worse, a militant and controversial ideology for or against which men are willing to fight and die, to plot and revolt, to sacrifice their pastime, their passions, even their lives.

Despite the magnitude of the effort, the attraction of the ideology, and the comparative perfection of the technique, Soviet propaganda has by its own admission so far failed to accomplish what Emelyan Yaroslawski described as its ultimate goal: "the gigantic task of *remaking* man so as to enable him to create the new Communist society on earth."

IN THE FOREGROUND A CAPRESE VILLA, ACROSS THE BLAND SEA MILD-SMOKING VESUVIUS

The Island of Desire

BY NATALIA DANESI MURRAY

THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS BUILT THERE HIS NOTORIOUS 12 PALACES OF LOVE
EDDA CIANO, DAUGHTER OF THE SAD CAESAR MUSSOLINI, SEEKS HAPPINESS THERE 2000 YEARS LATER

THE modern legend says that Capri became a bone of contention between American and British generals when, at Headquarters in Algiers, they discussed the Salerno landing.

The British finally agreed to forego Capri, accepting instead the islands of Ischia and Sorrento and Positana on the coast. The deal was one of the worst in British history, for the US thereby obtained one of the pure marvels of the Mediterranean, a super de luxe rest camp for its Army in Italy.

Today, hardly five years later, Capri's American Army era is all but forgotten. When I recently returned to the island, all that reminded one of the occupation were two jeeps inherited by the local police force of four men, a small model of a B-17 still doing business as a shoeshine stand, and a former agent of the OSS who, by ancient habit, collects information on everyone who arrives or departs.

Perhaps nowhere else was the war so readily, so spontaneously, forgotten. The ink had hardly dried on the Armistice papers when old lovers of the place started to drift back. Now, once more, Capri is the privileged playground of an unchartered sect, that of the aesthete, the refined hedonist.

The center of Capri's life is the little Piazza, perfect Baroque in style. Everybody appears here around 7 o'clock of the evening and, joining a group of friends, orders the typical Italian cocktail "Americano al Seltz" —a glass of Italian vermouth with a dash of bitters, lemon peel and soda water—while a small orchestra alternates Neapolitan songs with local versions of American hit-parade numbers.

To be sure, many famous residents of pre-war days are gone. You would look in vain for Baron Ferzen, who used to maintain an opium den in his villa; for the great artist, Teddy Gerard, or for Compton Mackenzie, author of *Extraordinary Women*. But you can still meet at least two of the most famous old timers, Edwin Cerio, mayor of the town in pre-Fascist days, and Norman Douglas, whose *South Wind* is considered the most enduring novel about the island.

Among the newcomers there are painters, musicians and writers of the caliber of Campigli, Santoliquido or Alberto Moravia. Instead of American soldiers, one meets successful

The Island of Desire *continued*

writers and society women. Any day on the Piazza you may bump into Frederic Prokosh, recognize the brooding face of Tennessee Williams, glimpse the elusive little figure of Truman Capote. It was in Capri that a wag, admiring Mrs. Harrison Williams' assortment of shorts and halters, called her "the world's best undressed woman."

Another set of new residents consists of monarchist aristocrats complete with monocles and of former ladies-in-waiting to the King and Queen of Italy. They have come here not to forget but to remember. And to mourn the handsome Umberto who, as Crown Prince, used to waltz in the moonlight at Capri.

There is someone else here too, who cannot get the past out of his mind. He is Lucky Luciano, the notorious white slaver deported from New York, who on his arrival was promptly robbed of his watch and camera. The gangster has given out the rumor that he is an agent of the US government entrusted with organizing the Sicilian Maffia against Communism. The skeptical Caprese suspect that he is still interested in his old industry.

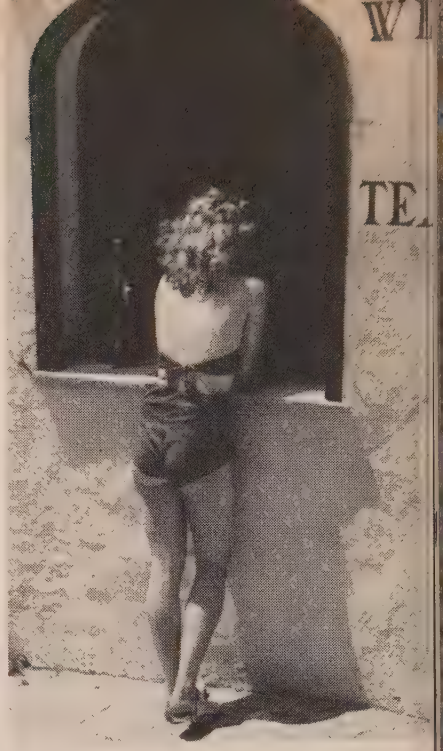
The first permanent resident of Capri was Emperor Tiberius nearly 2000 years ago. Arriving an aging, tired man, he was sufficiently invigorated here to build a set of 12 superb villas where he led frenzied orgies, the wildness of which was unique even in his times. In the ruins of his residence dedicated to Jupiter, one can still recognize the vast halls, the slave quarters, the reservoirs, the aqueducts, evidence of past luxury and sumptuousness. From a nearby terrace one looks out at the Leap of Tiberius, a sheer drop of 900 feet to the foaming waves, over which the Emperor pushed many a young man and woman who had ceased to provoke his lust.

Past and present also mingle in the Certosa founded in 1371. An entire wing of the monastery is now rented to one of the most beautiful women of Capri, the tall and dark Signora Graziella Pennachio. In a walled-in patio, under pergolas of grape and jasmin, every Thursday afternoon she receives selected guests for tea and cocktails, and often the Padre Priore and a few monks join the invited. If you are fortunate enough to be a friend of the hostess and to be asked to stay a few days at her Certosa, you will sleep in a small white-washed guest room, the cell of a monk. In the morning your breakfast will be served on a cobbled terrace surrounded by olive trees and agaves and sheltered from the sun by native *pagliarelle*—straw mats woven from palm leaves, from beneath which you will gaze out over a cobalt sea. These are moments when one wonders how life can have attraction anywhere else . . .

All over the island you can find not only traces of the Roman period, fragments of mosaic pavement, bits of bas-reliefs, capitals and columns, but also remnants of pirates' nests. Scattered on rocky edges, many of

INTRODUCTION TO CAPRI

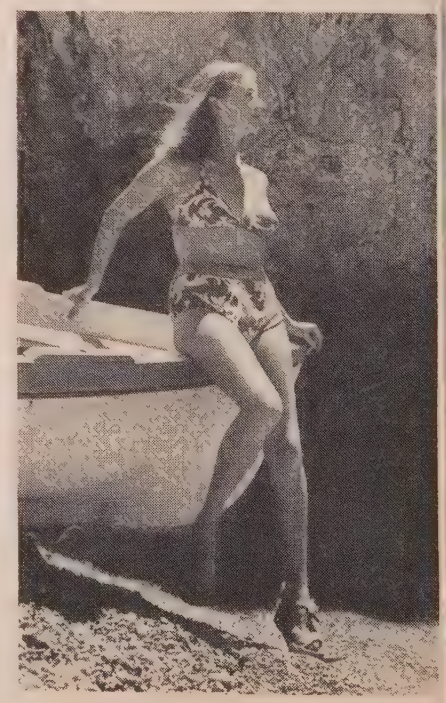
GREY ROCKS, cacti and volcanic cliffs are the visitor's first sight as the vaporetto lands one at the Grande Marina (above).



HAIR STILL WET after a swim, this barebacked Naiad stops for refreshment at the counter of a fashionable tearoom.

FLIRTING, FOOD, SWIMMING, SUNNING—THESE ARE THE CONCERNS OF PERMANENT AND TRANSIENT RESIDENTS

FLOWERED two-piece bathing suit, provoking profile and beautiful legs belong to blonde French Comtesse Dusel.



these brown, Saracen towers have been transformed into studios by writers and painters with a romantic turn of mind.

Capri is the god's gift to the sensuous. Except for three winter months, a downpour of sun and light floods its enchanting valley, bursts against the rocks, inflame the facades and windows of the houses, gives hues of emerald to everything that's green, of amethyst to the blue of water, of violet to a compact and deep sky. The sea is always changing; now it glows purple; now it relaxes, tender pink or green. Throughout it remains transparent so that the bottom is clearly discernible at great depths.

During the whole day the sloping streets of the town bathe in color. The white, classic columns and terraces of the villas fairly disappear under a profusion of bursting flowers, flaming Bougainvilleas, virginal jasmins, scented mimosas, roses, tuberoses, lilies, oleanders. To top the effect, the gardens are surrounded by trees, the sacred olive, the gigantic agave, the proud myrtle, the Indian *figue,* the desert palm, tall pines and elegant cypresses.

Capri's coastline, virtually all nine miles of it, is inaccessible. Rich in grottos and small reefs, the rocks can be austere like the Faraglioni, or amenable and peaceful like the Monacone. The Natural Arc is a daring suspension bridge challenging the sky. The Blue Grotto is breathtaking. Across the bay lies Naples, ever so gently. Over it, isolated and solemn, Mount Vesuvius with plumes of smoke keeps vigil.

Small wonder that through the ages the fame of Capri has lured to it so varied a collection of extraordinary people, emperors, kings, poets and painters, lovers and hermits, aristocrats and adventurers. This is the island of Nepenthe, of forgetfulness, beauty, and a pagan idolatry of sun and water.

This is also the island of gorgeous food and excellent hotels. Right behind the Piazza is the famous Quisisana, still the best and most expensive *albergo* of Capri. Vittorio, the legendary bartender, is dead. The new social manager of the place is Count Mathieu Pozzo di Borgo, the Prince Obolensky of Capri. The old hotels — Pagano, Tiberio, Morgano, Capri—are still there, but the younger set is more attracted by the open-air dancing at the new Hotel Delle Palme. Prices are surprisingly modest. The most luxurious hotels charge $4 to $8.50 a day, but it is possible to get a perfectly satisfactory room and breakfast for as little as $2.

Dining is important to the Caprese. At private dinner parties you will always get a local specialty such as minuscule *pizze,* a pancake embodying tomatoes, cheese and anchovies, or spaghetti with eggplant, and all kinds of Mediterranean fish, fried, baked, en casserole. These are followed by international dishes cooked to perfection by native chefs trained through years to satisfy all exotic tastes.

The restaurants live up to similar standards. If you order in advance, at Constanzo of the Grande Marina you get the most delicious steak. At Vincenzo of the Piccola Marina you may eat in bathing suit between dips in the sea. The Campanile, whose walls are covered with murals, is the most expensive restaurant in the island. There a not-too-elaborate meal may set you back as much as $3. At other places, of less superficial sophistication but of no less charm, an equally good meal will cost about $1.50. Among these are the Gatto Bianco, Virginiello, Carmela and La Pigna.

So Capri lives for smaller and greater pleasures: feasting, dancing, flirting, and paying homage to the gods of sun and water. Politics and international complications are dealt with strictly on the gossip level, extracting from them the purely emotional, the personal element. I shall never forget an incident involving Countess Edda Ciano, daughter of the former Duce.

After a short exile, this slim, energetic woman is back on the is-

CAPRI'S SOCIAL CENTER

THE SIDEWALK CAFE on the Piazza, boasting mineral water and café expresso, is almost empty at this hour. It is noon—by the shadows not the clock. By evening all the tables will be filled with fashionable non-Caprese, come to drink vermouth and gossip.

land. She goes about in the company of a millionaire jeweler known to the initiated as "Chanteclair." He made a fortune during and after the war by selling little silver bells, emblems of Capri, to sight-seeing GI's. Reputedly engaged to Chanteclair, Edda Ciano is one of the merriest of the merry Caprese.

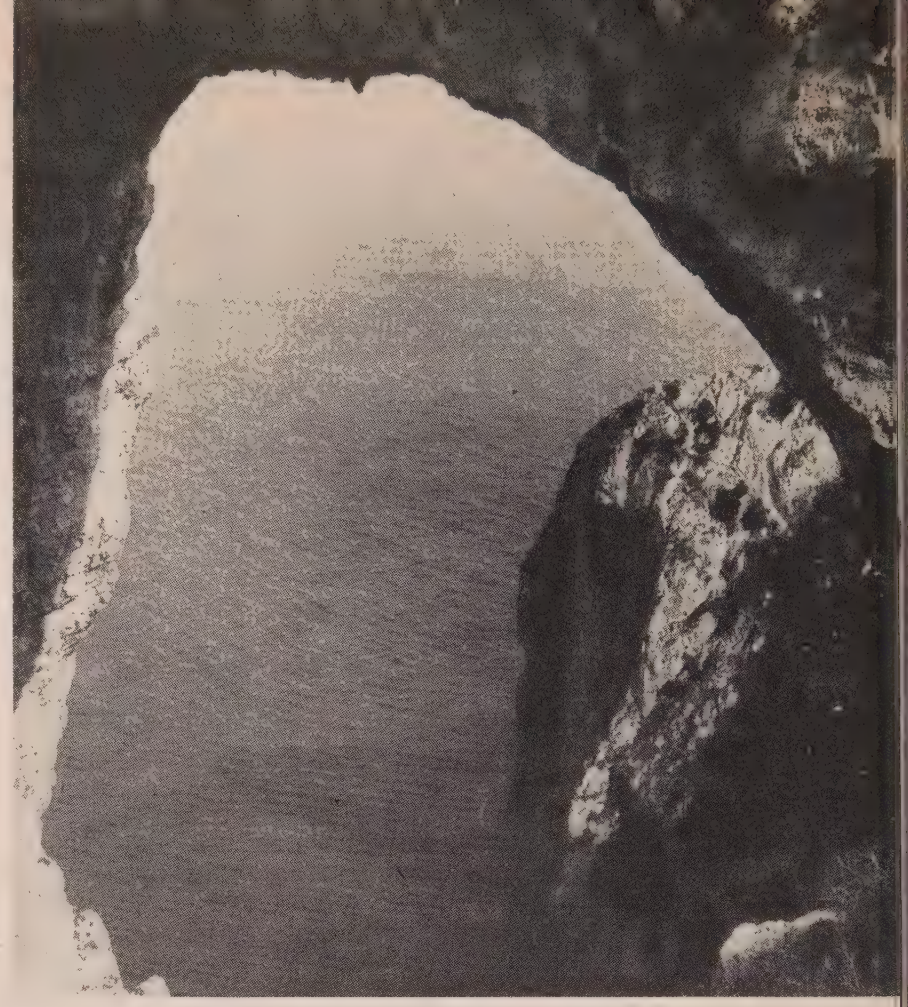
It so happened that one day as I was sitting with friends on the rocks, the Countess joined the circle. I had known too much of her role in the past to enjoy exchanging smiles and small talk with the first lady of the Fascist régime. I got up and left.

The same afternoon in the Piazza I was taken aside by a well-known anti-Fascist Duchess.

"You were cruel to Edda," she admonished me sternly. "One can see that you've become an insensitive American. How could you so humiliate a woman mourning the loss of her husband and her father?"

Here was the Caprese way of thinking at its most typical. Yesterday didn't exist. All was forgotten. Only today counted.

I looked at the Duchess and then at the sky and the rocks in the distance. This was Capri, I told myself. This was the land of the forgiven sinners.



NATURAL ARCH, CUT BY THE SEA, NOW FRAMES THE SEA

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

ARMY authorities in Washington advise survivors of American soldiers buried overseas to get in touch with the Department of the Army before planning to visit overseas graves.

Because of work going on transferring American war dead from the temporary cemeteries where they were first buried, Army spokesmen say that visitors run the risk of finding cemeteries closed upon their arrival.

Before making final plans, therefore, relatives should get in touch with the Memorial Division Office of the Quartermaster General, Washington 25, to make certain of the status of the cemetery in which they are interested.

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TRAVEL by Americans in Europe under provisions of the Economic Co-operation Act will be developed by the Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce, Washington. The purpose is to promote foreign travel to and within the Marshall Plan countries.

FRENCH RAILROAD tickets bought in the United States are good for 60 days from the date stamped on the ticket. Fares at the official rate of exchange of 300 francs to the dollar are: 1.68 cents a mile in first class, 1.09 cents in second, and .77 cents in third class. Passengers can always exchange a cheaper for a more expensive ticket. All they have to do to make the change is to inform the "controleur" on the train and pay the difference in fares. Group tickets are available with a reduction of 30 per cent for a minimum of ten traveling together.

DOG TICKETS on French railroads cost half of the third class fare. As a general rule, dogs should travel in the reserved part of the baggage car. However, if dogs are small and carried in a dog basket, and if the other passengers do not object, they can travel in the regular passenger cars.

THE UNITED NATIONS WORLD TOUR to the UN General Assembly in Paris and to other capitals promises to be the most exciting event in the travel world in 1948. The exceptionally low prices, from $490 up, the reception to be given by the French government and other official affairs, lift this trip to a unique level. Among the distinguished participants will be Mr. and Mrs. C. Edward Price and son, Detroit; Mr. and Mrs. Roger S. Phillips, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. Edgerton Parsons, National Council of Women of the USA; Miss Mildred Burgess, National Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs; Miss Anne Guthrie, World Y.W.C.A. The Foreign Policy Association is sending a tour delegation of several members. Space is still available for a limited number of readers of UNITED NATIONS WORLD.

New President of Ecuador Warns US—

Don't Put All Your Eggs in Europe

GALO PLAZA LASSO EMPHASIZES THAT WORLD RECOVERY NEEDS SUPPORT OF BOTH EUROPE AND THE LATIN CONTINENT FOR ULTIMATE SUCCESS

ECUADOR'S GALO PLAZA LASSO

Galo Plaza Lasso, the man who once sold apples on New York street corners and slept under Manhattan Bridge and who becomes Ecuador's Liberal president on September 1, is one of the most energetic advocates of Hemisphere co-operation. During his pre-inaugural visit to his second home, Senor Plaza—now 51—prepared industriously for the tasks awaiting him in Quito. Some of his plans he discusses in the following exclusive UN WORLD *interview.*

1 *What do you regard as your first task upon assuming the presidency of Ecuador?*

"I regard as the major task the improvement of the production processes of Ecuador, especially packing and shipping methods, so that we may be in a better position to dispose of our agricultural and industrial output. For this we shall have to find, first of all, technical assistance, and I personally expect it from the US."

2 *What aside from technical aid do you expect to obtain from the US, Mr. President?*

"We look to the US for support in the form of capital and goods, the latter to be made available in a manner somewhat similar to the European Recovery Program. Once our recovery and improved production are thereby assured, the US could secure an increased flow of vital raw materials. The US will find Ecuador an excellent market, inasmuch as purchases can be made at my country's —and not at world market—prices, the former being far lower than the latter."

3 *Do you think that the US should inaugurate a program for Latin America patterned after ERP?*

"I think that the development of the continent demands at least the immediate consideration of such a plan. World economy is indivisible. Only a properly co-ordinated economic program for all hemispheres, with equal opportunities for all, can result in worldwide economic recovery and reconstruction. Without that, the US may jeopardize its stake in both Europe and Latin America.

"In other words, the US should consider now, and decide upon, early materialization of a Latin American recovery program in which all the sister republics of the hemisphere would be able to participate on—I repeat—a quid pro quo basis, placing their own resources fully at the disposal of the program."

4 *What are Ecuador's plans under your regime?*

"In so far as the plan of the projected Economic Union is concerned, Ecuador will be glad to become a member of such a union, with Venezuela, Panama and Colombia. Such a union would inevitably have many advantages. We would never compete against each other, but would strive to solve common problems—especially those of production and distribution—on a co-operative basis."

5 *What changes in Ecuador's foreign policy do you contemplate for the near future?*

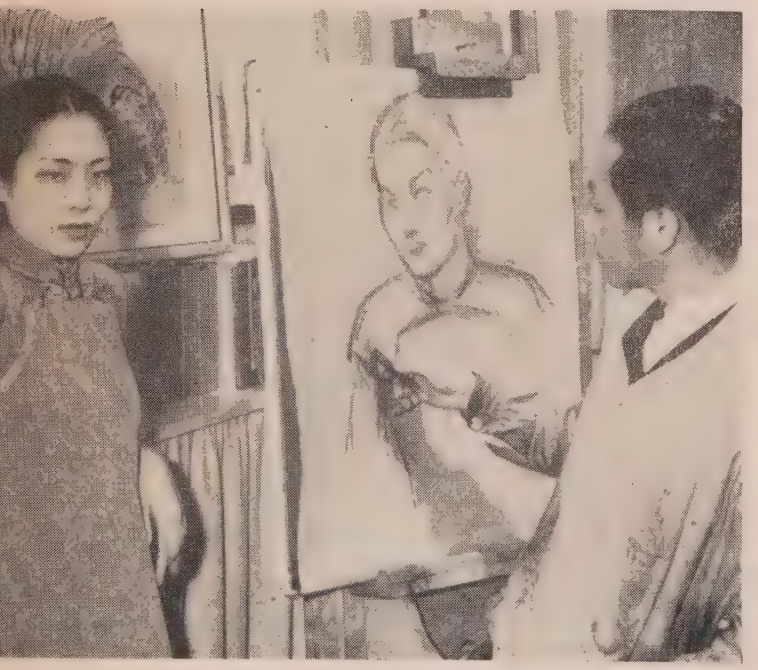
"My foreign policy is founded most firmly on our membership in the United Nations and adherence to the principles and spirit of its Charter. It is fully in line with the provisions of the Charter to seek a regional orientation which under my regime will be manifested in a foreign policy positively oriented toward that of the US.

"The common interests of the hemisphere will not, however, blind us to the best interests of the UN, and Ecuador will be in the future, as in the past, among the first when it comes to subordination of national to enlightened international interests."

NEW YORK SCENE: *Skyline from Brooklyn,* a vivid water color, draws the eye past stagnant water, rotted pilings and circling gulls to the story-book towers of Manhattan. Though he hails from Canton, Wong here catches the soul of New York.

East Is Western

WONG SIULING, A 'WESTERN' PAINTER, ESTABLISHES THAT THE TWAIN CAN MEET



FIRST STEP in a portrait of his wife is taken by Wong. She is a sculptress, Linda Wu. Her father painted the tiger on the wall.

KIPLING, it seems, could have been wrong: East and West do meet. Witness the paintings reproduced herewith—done by an artist born and bred in China, whose work now is as American as a hot dog.

Wong Siuling showed artistic talent early. At 14 he was kidnapped by bandits; released, he made such an exact drawing of their hideout that police easily located it. Thereafter he was sent to art school in Hongkong.

When Japan invaded China, he became a captain under Gen. Chiang Kai-shek and served through the siege of Shanghai. But the government knew his true worth; in 1938 it sent him to San Francisco to enroll in the California School of Fine Arts. More study in New York followed. In 1945 he was appointed an art instructor at Columbia University (a job he still holds).

Small, dark, dapper, with impassive features that break easily into a friendly grin, Wong still has trouble with English, enjoys visiting Chinese restaurants and ordering rare dishes in staccato Cantonese. He is 39, married to Linda Wu, a talented sculptress and daughter of a renowned Chinese painter. Last year Wong went back to China where he had a one-man show in Nanking. Last spring he had a one-man show at Lake Success, in October he will exhibit in the Metropolitan Museum.

PRIZE PAINTING: *Lady with Red Scarf,* award winner in a California show, is one of several Wong works to take honors.

AN EARLY WONG: *Chinese Grandmother,* painted in China in 1933, shows the crude brushwork Wong commanded at that time.

WARTIME DRAMA: Titled *Since He Went Away,* this oil speaks for all the women fighting men leave behind. It also reveals willful fakery: the girls are art students of Wong's at Columbia, and the setting is a balcony he sketched in New Orleans.

By EVELYN C. KENNEY

SIR RALPH CUDDEN, ALLY, NONLEAGUE
AND REPUBLICAN, CHAIRMAN,
BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Philip Noe

. . . paragon in politics

Internationalist

Professional

Lawyer

Humanitarian

Pacifist

Westerner

Longtime

Scholar

Athlete

PHILIP NOEL-BAKER, postwar statesman. The tense smile suggests awareness of his times, the relaxed, long-boned hands indicate the medical athlete, endowed at valued long-range

A half hour later Noel-Baker strode in from a conference in Rockefeller Center. He flashed a greeting smile, went right on talking about the Center: ". . . without equal, the most magnificent conception of modern architecture. . . ." Breaking off to take a phone call—hurried, harried, courteous, correct. "Phil's always late, always rushed, always haggard," says an intimate. "He gives all he's got to the job in hand."

Baker

A man of many important jobs, Philip Noel-Baker's present one is most important. Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, he is the first to hold that cabinet post. In fact, he named it himself—substituting the word "Commonwealth" for "Dominion" as the Tory Empire evolved in postwar ferment into Labor-approved association of states loyal to the British crown. He had flown over to take Britain's seat in the Security Council before which India and Pakistan had been called to settle their dispute over Kashmir.

The Kashmir meetings were near an end when we met him. In his zeal to settle the dispute he had been indefatigable. Much of his business had been tactful backstage work, interpreting one group to the other, separately and together—at Lake Success, at their hotels, over the telephone. A colleague commented: "Boundless endurance that man. On previous visits—when the UN was established in San Francisco, at the first Assembly sessions here—I've known him to do a long day's work then dance half the night. But no waltzing this time. He's worked like a red ant."

And it had been obvious that he was working not only for the Commonwealth but also against war. For him the first is an example to all the world, the second utterly abhorrent. "I have spent my life studying how wars begin," he told one session of the Council, "what people think wars are for, the results to which wars lead."

In 33 sessions, by careful count, he persistently adjured in positive tones: "Cease the carnage." . . . "Total stoppage of acts of violence." . . . "Stoppage *now* without further bloodshed." . . .

Nonviolence, urgency, immediacy were themes of his every talk. "We have no time to waste." . . . "The shortest period is extremely long." His pleas for peace were continuous: "Peace is indivisible." . . . "By violence and hatred no problem is solved." . . . "Everything which affects peace affects everyone."

Inevitably he incurred suspicion from both sides, but he persisted. "The distinctive fact about Noel-Baker," said one colleague, "is that in such a delicate situation he was never deterred by setbacks, never considered his own interests, never lost hope of a solution. Patience, courage and idealism—they are the essence of the man."

For a compendium of such shining qualities, there must be an explanation. There is. Noel-Baker's ancestry is Quaker and Liberal in almost equal parts—of the upper stratum of wealthy British Quakers, pacifists, progressives, internationalists.

Noel-Baker grew up on piety and politics. His father, J. Allen Baker, a Canadian-born engineer, entered the House of Commons in 1905—as a Liberal but with Labor support. "He had a very good name with the union members," says his son. Brought up on his father's principles, Philip's political passion is the imperative duality—internationalism and peace.

PEDAGOGICAL BUT NOT ALWAYS PEDESTRIAN

Not that he fears or avoids conflict. A conscientious objector in World War I, he nevertheless was several times decorated for valor displayed as commandant of ambulance units in France and Italy. A Washington friend delights in telling that, when the Allies broke out of Italy into Austria, the Quaker's ambulances were first through the pass. "In his excitement he forgot there'd not be any wounded before the Army caught up first with him and then with the retreating Austrians."

Though "sports," to most Englishmen means hunting and fishing, to Noel-Baker the word connotes those Olympic activities recently engaging the young men and women at Wembley. Chiefly the running. Beginning at a Quaker prep school, Bootham, he has run in formal competition for well over 40 years. After Bootham, in 1906, he came to America where he attended Haverford, a Quaker College in Pennsylvania. In the Penn Relays the next spring he won a gold watch, which he displayed at our first meeting.

"Forty-one years ago and we're both still running," he reminisced. "I enjoyed it all frightfully. Next to running the thing I liked best about Haverford was Bryn Mawr. I used to run down to Bryn Mawr—only three miles — of an evening. Sometimes Bryn Mawr came up to Haverford to skate on moonlight nights. Best time of my life," he grinned.

After Haverford, Noel-Baker next associated with Americans in 1919, at the Paris Peace Conference. Later, until 1922, he worked with Americans in the League of Nations where he held several posts. In 1929, a Labor MP, he was back in Geneva as a delegate and thereafter he took part in the Geneva Disarmament Conference and other meetings of the mighty.

In 1933-34 he spent a year at Yale as Dodge Lecturer where, for his proficiency, he received the Howland Memorial prize. By that time he was an author of erudite books on International Law, the League and Disarmament and had held the chair of Sir Ernest Cassel Professor of International Relations in the University of London.

In 1936 he returned to politics and the House and, in 1942, he entered the government in the Ministry of War Transport. By 1945 he had achieved the status of Right Honorable, being sworn on His Majesty's Privy Council. He had a guiding hand in the establishment of the United Nations at San Francisco and, as he enjoys pointing out, "with Messrs. Gromyko and Rockefeller"—a decisive influence in establishing UN headquarters in New York.

He speaks with passionate earnestness and a flair for the dramatic, but no humor. "He's so imbued with his beliefs that he just couldn't wisecrack," said an aid. His platform skills burgeoned at Cambridge, where he went after Haverford, and where he became president of the famous

Philip Noel-Baker *continued*

debating "Union."

In King's College, Philip Baker (the Noel was still undreamed-of) was five-star in everything. He passed honors examinations (called Tripos) in history in 1910 and economics in 1912. "I took my studies very seriously," he admits, "worked through vacations, too."

He found time to head the University Athletics Club and win the 400-meter low hurdles race at the Stockholm Olympics in 1912. "We had a fabulous club at King's College," Noel-Baker recalls. "Rupert Brooke belonged—attractive young man—and Hugh Dalton and Arthur Waley who translated Chinese poetry in a Tennysonian manner. Interesting lot."

In 1911 he attended the University of Munich for a year of thesis writing and running. He helped set a German relay record with his good friend, Hans Braun, the sculptor, whose bronze figure of a runner is today in Noel-Baker's study.

His scholarship earned him a year's added study at King's College in 1913. Last Christmas he returned for the Founder's Feast. "Exactly as it was when I was an undergraduate. Just as beautiful. Some things in England never change." Except that his old college friends are now the senior dons.

In 1914, the young pedagog left Cambridge to become vice-principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, a college for workingmen who came from factories and mines on trades-union scholarships. In August, however, World War I disrupted the college, and Philip Baker's career.

YOUNG MR. BAKER PICKS UP A HYPHEN

In France he met Miss Irene Noel, a trim young blonde in a sedate 1915 uniform—Grecian-born British, descendant of Lady Byron. Beguiled by her blue eyes and vibrant, forceful personality, Philip Baker shortly thereafter took her, and her patronym, unto himself—though he did not assume the name at once. He appeared as Noel Baker for the first time in the 1930 *Who's Who;* the hyphen was added in 1943.

From the time he joined the League of Nations Section of the British Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, Mrs. Noel-Baker has engaged herself energetically in her husband's career (as she does in that of their only son—Capt. Francis Noel-Baker). The latter won a seat in the House in the General Elections of 1945, becoming at 25, the youngest MP.

Noel-Baker is jubilant about the success of the Labor government. "It has effected the greatest demobilization and the greatest switch-over from war to peace production there has ever been with absolute smoothness. Throughout this period there was no industrial dislocation of any kind. Unemployment has been, and still remains, lower than ever before in peacetime.

"The Labor government has held down the cost of living. We've out-Beveridged Beveridge. Our citizens are now insured against disaster from birth to death. The extremes of poverty have been wiped out by law. Less than one tenth of the man days lost after the last war by strikes have been lost after this. The nation's production is greater than ever before. The housing program is doing astonishingly well.

"We have played, as I think, a worthy part in the United Nations and in its specialized agencies. We have stood for parliamentary democracy against tyranny. We have given full self-government to India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. We have a great program of colonial reform and progress. Certainly the electors think we have done well. We are the only government for a century who have ruled for three years without losing a single by-election."

Baker's professional political career really began with the Versailles conference. He was a natural, a congenital internationalist with a sound theoretical and scholarly training, and he was recognized as such. Lord Robert Cecil, Britain's famous League of Nations advocate, took him up. He became Cecil's private secretary. As a "tireless subordinate" of Lord Parmoor, Baker was on the drafting commission of the League Covenant. Later he joined the League Secretariat as a close associate of Sir Eric Drummond. For a time he was assistant to the famous Arctic explorer, the Norwegian Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, another idealist and man of physical prowess who greatly inspired him.

A full generation has passed since Noel-Baker met Nansen, long enough to bring about the sort of incredible coincidence by which he came twice into the life of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. A year ago Mr. and Mrs. Noel-Baker were in Belgrade representing His Majesty's government at a formal affair. In the course of their visit they had a long talk with Tito during which he told them how, in World War I, he had been captured by the Russians, transported to a camp in Siberia and left there. During months and years of revolution he and his comrades were apparently forgotten. One day there arrived on the camp sidetrack a train to transport them back to their homes.

"It has always been a mystery to me where that train came from or who sent it," said Tito. "It was the miracle that saved my life."

"And I sent that train," said Noel-Baker.

As aid to Nansen whose function was repatriation and whose League office had sent many trains to many camps, Noel-Baker had personally sent out a limited number of trains. He clearly remembered their destination and errands. The relief of Tito's camp had been one of his projects.

AT NUMBER 10

HATLESS, Noel-Baker and Arthur Henderson, who succeeded him as Air Minister, leave Attlee's Downing St. residence.

MRS. NOEL-BAKER dresses simply, in keeping with her husband's "political uniform" of pin-striped blue. She aids his career by making a constant study of political personalities, and it is said she always "knows who should meet whom—where and when."

During those Geneva days, Baker rested by climbing Alps and skiing. When he could not exercise more vigorously, he danced. Night after night he tangoed, inexorably.

His enthusiasm for sports is still second only to his passion for peace. "Sports gives you a great feeling of making the best possible use of the attributes with which you've been equipped by providence," he explains earnestly.

Nowadays Noel-Baker walks more than he runs. Wherever he may be, in London, Paris, New York, Quebec, he walks for miles. He runs when he can—on holiday over the gentle English hills—when he can't get a holiday sometimes through the London streets. In recent years London bobbies have learned not to take alarm at a sudden, small-hours clatter of hooves on the pavement outside the House of Commons. It proves each time to be merely Philip Noel-Baker and a group of colleagues whom he has persuaded that a brisk run is better than a nightcap after a long session on affairs of state.

He runs less and rides horseback more when visiting his wife's farm and forest on the Island of Euboea. As a result of his vacations on Euboea, Noel-Baker speaks fluent modern Greek with a strong peasant flavor picked up from his wife's retainers. Greek diplomats are sometimes wide-eyed at his idioms and inflections. He uses his languages as tools of friendship—French with French, German with German, Italian with Italian, Norwegian with Norwegian. By his own account his friends are "school friends, Cambridge friends, political friends, Olympic friends, mountaineering friends and lots of others." His capacity for individual friendship is, no doubt, merely another manifestation of his human quality—the same spirit expressed by his loyalty to his religious tenets and his country.

It is not, however, as a loyal friend, Quaker or Englishman that Noel-Baker will be remembered in history but—if he succeeds—as the man who supervised the "liquidation of His Majesty's Empire" not into power bankruptcy but into a commonwealth of independent states stronger in equality than in subjection.

In this commonwealth, he explains, "Everything is based on a conception which ought to be common to all nations—that their common interests are much more important than their smaller conflicting ones. As each nation gets more self-government, the real bond will grow stronger. I think there is no doubt that the Commonwealth in this last war was stronger than it ever was before." Then, with a warmth which ignores the intransigence of South Africa: "I believe the nations in the Commonwealth are inbued by a passion for one political and economic democracy—by an urgent sense that the world must stand together to stop another war."

It is at this point that Noel-Baker's enthusiasms for the Commonwealth and the United Nations merge. During the height of the Berlin crisis he mailed this comment to us: "In spite of the cold war, the institutions of the United Nations are far stronger than the institutions of the League of Nations ever were. I believe the overwhelming majority of nations now consciously desire collective security against aggression, and thereafter drastic disarmament with full control. I do not believe any single nation or group of nations will in the long run be able to stand out against the movement for such a system. It may take a considerable period of years, but in the end it will succeed."

For the Views Of Other One Worlders—

See next page

BY ELIOT PRATT

World Federalists

THEY ARE THE DEDICATED THOUSANDS . . .

THEY GIVE THEMSELVES, AND THE WORLD, FIVE YEARS

IN WHICH TO WARD OFF WORLD WAR III BY ESTABLISHING A ONE-WORLD STATE

A common denominator links UN supporters and the crusaders for world government now. It is the acute awareness that for more than two billion people, it is "one world or none."

This agreement does not extend to means. Those who favor the UN rely on its ability to accomplish an ever greater cooperation, rapprochement and interdependence among nations. They point to its successes in crucial economic, social, military and political fields and regard them as portents of an organic growth into world government.

Those who favor world government now believe that the perils inherent in the present and immediate future make imperative the prompt establishment of an authority to *enforce* world law, order and peace.

THE EDITORS

IN THE middle of the last century Victor Hugo wrote: "I represent a party which does not yet exist: Civilization. This party will make the 20th century. There will issue from it first the United States of Europe and then the United States of the World." The 20th century is not quite half over, yet long strides have already been taken toward both goals of Hugo's prediction.

The great French writer could not have foreseen the technological developments of the past few decades—automobiles, airplanes, radio, television, jet propulsion, radar, atomic fission, all the mechanisms of modern science. But the prospect of war fought with them and with bacteria has set men and women everywhere to dreaming of a world government that really can keep peace.

This does not mean merely that people are being frightened into a one-world outlook. Rather, in almost every country, statesmen, educators, industrialists, labor leaders, civic-minded housewives, students, have come to see that peace is a world problem. They are convinced that alliances and power blocs cannot prevent wars; that the League of Nations was impotent and the UN, despite its high principles, is not settling differences among the major powers. Therefore, they say, the answer is world government.

The simplicity of the answer does not mean there is unanimity in the method chosen to reach it. There are a number of groups, national and international, each advocating its own proposals.

Currently the No. 1 organization in the field is the World Movement for a World Federal Government, which co-ordinates the activities of some 60 groups in 29 countries.

WORLD GOVERNMENT—THE BASIC ISSUE

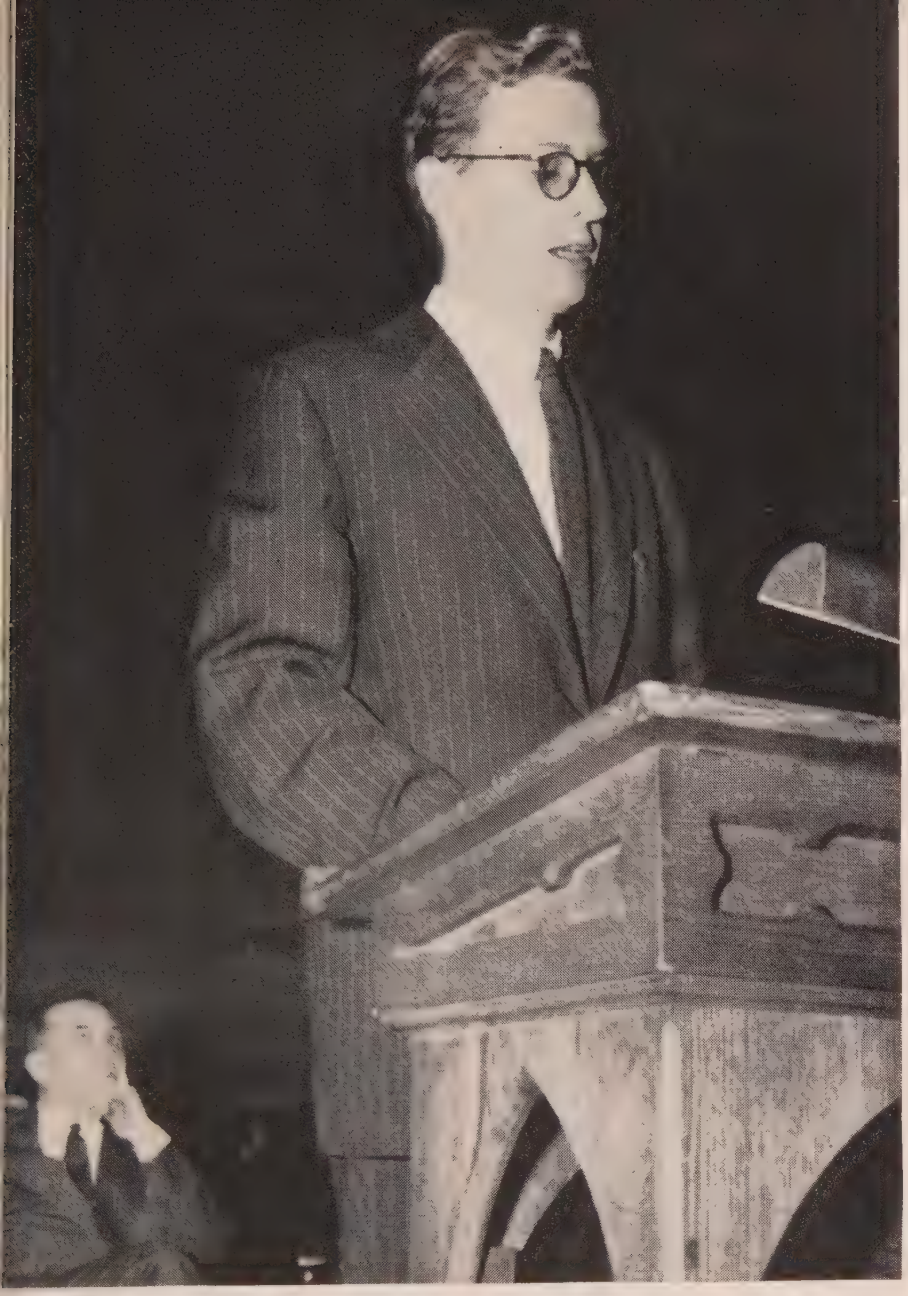
The World Movement's faith and aims are summed up in a statement issued last year at its first "world congress" in Monteux, France: "Establishment of a world federal government is the crucial problem of our time. Until it is solved all other issues, whether national or international, will remain unsettled." The statement then urges a world government with 1) universal membership, 2) limitation of national sovereignty, 3) enforcement of world law directly on the individual, 4) a world army, 5) world ownership of the atom bomb and other agents of mass destruction and 6) power to raise revenues.

The World Movement's headquarters are in Switzerland (Geneva); its president is Jean Larmeroux, a Frenchman. But its most vigorous member group is American, the United World Federalists, Inc. Th body is headed by Cord Meyer, Jr., 27-year-old World War II veter who has won wide publicity throu his sober best-seller, *Peace or A archy*, and his forceful cross-count speaking tours. Active dues payi members in 550 chapters in t Federalists now number about 40,0 and are increasing at the rate 2,000 a month. Card signing a herents, who pay no dues, are es mated "in the hundreds of thousands

Meanwhile thousands of America support other organizations. Two these are: Clarence Streit's Feder Union (which, since its prewar bir as Union Now, has campaigned f a federation of the US with Britai France and other "mature demo racies") and Ely Culbertson's Ci zens Committee for United Natio Reform (which seeks to create a ne world balance of power by amendi the UN Charter).

Recently a new group came public attention when a committee educators, called together by Cha cellor Robert M. Hutchins of t University of Chicago, drafted proposed World Constitution. Th provides for a world president, leg lature and supreme court, centr control of armed forces and oth features. At present the so-call Chicago Plan is being discussed (its sponsors wished) by serious su porters of world government ever where.

In Europe the question of wor federation is complicated by the lated question of European feder tion. This dream which antedat Hugo received real impetus in t 1920s from Hungary's Count Ric



CORD MEYER, JR., LEADER OF UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS

ard Coudenhove-Kalergi and his Pan-Europe project. Aristide Briand of France and other statesmen supported Pan-Europa, but it never did go beyond the dream-on-paper stage. Since the war, many Europeans have come to associate continental federation with survival and place it ahead of world-government schemes.

Winston Churchill has been a most ardent supporter of such a union, and he dominated the conference of like-minded Europeans who gathered at the Hague last spring to promote it. Another elder statesman, Count Carlo Sforza, Foreign Minister of Italy, in August declared himself convinced of the absolute necessity of European Union—and quickly.

Co-operation under the Marshall Plan, the Benelux customs union, the Western Union pact of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, the French National Assembly resolution urging that France take the lead in forming a European federation—these are long straws pointing toward a possible union.

In the US, on the other hand, a federated nation already exists, and supporters of world government are free to argue such matters as: 1) How soon should such a government come into being? 2) What powers should it have? 3) Should it be created inside or outside UN? 4) Just what nations should undertake to start the ball rolling?

All four questions, of course, are vastly complicated by a fifth: What about Russia? The USSR is on record as opposing any weakening of the principle of national sovereignty. This forces federalist thinkers to face two equally hard choices: 1) create a world body which Russia can be persuaded to join; 2) go ahead without Russia and hope for the best.

The Soviet impact on the whole subject can be seen from a brief analysis of the above four points:

THE QUESTIONS OF TIMING AND POWERS

Opinions seem to vary in direct ratio with the individual's fear of actual war with Russia—the more immediate the fear, the greater the desire for quick action. Most federalists consider five years the deadline for peace, and are pushing for prompt results.

Here there is a clear-cut division of thought. The so-called minimalists (such as the United World Federalists) feel that control of armaments is the one essential function of a world government. They argue that anything beyond that would drive Russia away for good and heighten the chances of war, but that the Soviet Union might be wooed into a global government by the example of other nations, in good faith, laying down their arms.

The so-called maximalists, on the other hand (such as Clarence Streit), believe that the only effective and possible type of union must comprise nations similar in government and background. They would set up a federation like that of the US, deriving its powers from the mutual understanding and similar aims of member states. Under certain conditions Russia could join such a federation—or, if she chose, stay out.

Both minimalists and maximalists agree on one thing: with the world split as it is today, any future world government will have to be either 1) limited in the scope of its powers or 2) limited in membership.

THE QUESTIONS OF HOW AND WHERE TO START

Here there is a qualified area of agreement: this is that the UN, as presently constituted and functioning, has limited power over world events and cannot play a major role in setting up a world government.

COUNT COUDENHOVE-KALERGI

CLARENCE STREIT

World Federalists *continued*

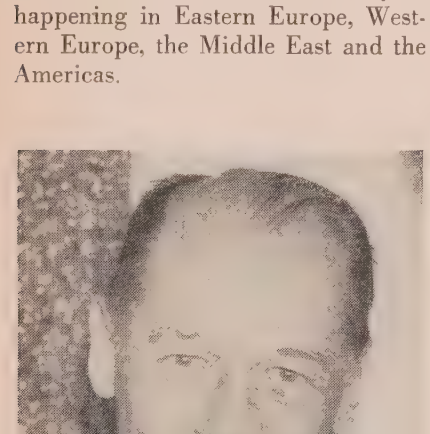
At the same time, Article 51 of the UN Charter provides for the regional or other federations. This would permit a European or similar federation within the UN framework. Some world-government supporters carefully have framed their proposals to fit into Article 51 and so disturb UN as little as possible. Others insist that world federalism cannot exist within UN except through major Charter revisions. Still others would bypass UN or even scrap it entirely.

Here the point of view depends heavily on geography. In Europe the world-government movement generally includes the premise that a European federation will be formed first. In both Europe and America some people favor a number of such regional groups; they may cite the fact that in a sense this already is happening in Eastern Europe, Western Europe, the Middle East and the Americas.

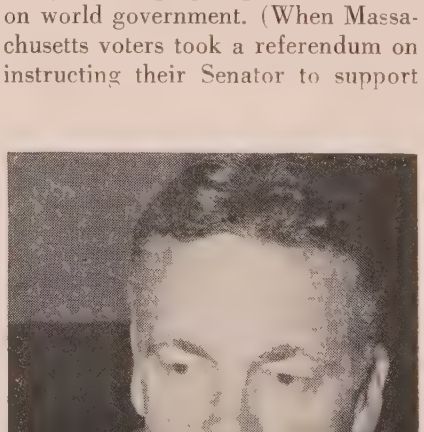
But Clarence Streit positively would start with a handful of individual nations. And Ely Culbertson would revise the UN Charter to set world-government machinery in action regardless of the attitude of Russia or a minority of other states.

So the arguments go. Were the Russian question resolved, undoubtedly most of them would end overnight. As it is, the movement for world government gropes toward a common platform and, as it gropes, continues to draw attention—and new supporters.

Supporters of world government among college students, particularly, have been active proselyters. College "United Nations Weeks" often turn into round-tables on world federalism. Older folk sponsor petitions to Congress, urging legislative action on world government. (When Massachusetts voters took a referendum on instructing their Senator to support world government, the proposal approved 638,000 to 84,000.)



ELY CULBERTSON



CHANCELLOR ROBERT HUTCHINS

THE GROUND SWELL GROWS STRONGER

World government has been subject of town meetings and wo en's clubs from New England to Cal fornia. American Legion posts, M tary Clubs, religious groups a many others have passed resolutio favoring world government—as ha 17 state legislatures. In Congress l spring, 14 Senators and 17 Rep sentatives unsuccessfully backed E Culbertson's proposed amendmen to the UN Charter; this fall oth Congressmen are being question by constituents in their attitud toward world government.

The planks of both major politic parties follow the Government's po icy of approving gradual evoluti within the UN, but many state poli ical conventions have plumped f world government. So have such n tional organizations as America for Democratic Action and the Ame ican Veterans Committee.

In Britain, the Crusade for Worl Government already has enliste thousands of volunteers in prepara tion for the election, two years fro now, of delegates to the World Co stitution Convention in Geneva. Chicago group called World Repub lic may instigate similar action her Meanwhile the World Movement fo a World Federal Government is hold ing its second annual congress Sep tember 5 to 11 in Luxembourg—wit more than 500 delegates and observ ers present from nearly 30 countries The announced purpose of this con gress is to chart a program to "brin us to the actual beginnings of a worl federal government within the nex two years."

Were it not for the atom bomb an kindred weapons, the world federal ists might well adapt to their ow needs the Communists' method of us ing trained, disciplined, persisten agitators. But they dare not; time, i their eyes, is too short. Therefor they depend on vigor and emotion seeking to overcome the wet blanke of unconcern with the fire of thei belief. Today that fire is made u of many small sparks. But if the unite and flare up, Victor Hugo coul turn out a prohpet certain of hono though not in his own country.

Three European Novelists Agree

No Deity Shelters Man

HE MUST STAND ALONE—IN DOUBT, PAIN AND COURAGE

BY TIBOR KOEVES
Book Editor

IT IS difficult to imagine three novels apparently more different from one another than those whose titles appear below. Backgrounds, plots, characters and conflicts seem to reflect utterly dissimilar worlds.

And yet the three books are brothers under the cover. They are that because they were born out of the same desperate effort to understand human relationship in the light of the recent terrible past, and because, as a consequence, their real heroes are not so much human characters as philosophical and moral problems. The authors reach beyond the private lives of their casts. Instead of concentrating on minute delineation of characters, or on complicated story lines, they ask ultimate questions about the nature of society and the destiny of man.

Vital elements of their postulates are identical. They equally reject the possibility of human happiness—though for different reasons—and none considers religion as an answer or a solace. Man stands alone, they proclaim in unison. He has to fight the pressures of nature, society, and his own soul without outside help. Metaphysical, political and economic concepts have failed to point out the road to decent existence.

Moving in this vacuum, the protagonists of the three novels are seekers for truths that make sense and render man's burden supportable. But although they start from the same zero point, they arrive at totally different conclusions.

Madame de Beauvoir, whose concern is with personal relationships rather than with society at large, flounders in final pessimism. She writes as if she had discovered a new brand of original sin which condemns man to eternal mischief and anguish without the slightest hope of liberation from the self-laceration inherent in his psyche.

Alvaro deals with a specific situation: the fight of the individual against the stifling tyranny of a totalitarian order. He claims that man, or rather his spirit, is of steel. Undaunted by persecution he will save himself if he understands that his task, his whole task on earth is to combat evil.

Camus' book describes the terrible plague which attacked the city of Oran in North Africa a few years ago; but he evidently has in mind all the plagues that torment mankind in whatever form. His remedy is compassion. "I decided to take, in every predicament, the victim's side so as to reduce the damage done," confesses one of his characters.

The hero of "The Blood of Others" is Jean Blomart. For a whole night, the duration of the novel, he reviews his own life, while Hélène, the girl he loves, is dying from the wounds she received on an underground mission on which he had sent her.

In the center of Jean's contemplations stands the discovery that "to exist" means "to choose," whether the choice is active or passive. When he *acted* and left home, he brought unhappiness upon his mother. When he *refrained from acting* and for a long time refused to accept Hélène's love, the consequences were no less disastrous; life had a way of debasing his most disinterested decisions. Caught in the vicious circle of this universe of which he doesn't know the rules, Jean is condemned to unceasing anguish and eternal sadness. He lives in a constant state of moral nausea because on the one hand he feels responsible for what he does and on the other he has no way of foreseeing into what dark impass his actions might lead him and others.

Madame de Beauvoir knows no salvation. In her world not only happiness but peace is beyond reach; life is an utterly tragic proposition. The highest possible achievement for man is to gather his courage and, admitting that he lives in hell, "bear his risk and his anguish, his guilt and his crimes."

Perhaps it is a justified reproach against existentialists, whose High Priestess Simone de Beauvoir is, that they have not enough zest of life, no true appetite for things and beings. They are utterly under the domination of one function: analytical thinking, and their one-sided characters are not convincing because in their moments of crisis they are unable to

Man Is Strong. BY CORRADO ALVARO.
Translated by Frances Frenay. $3

The Plague. BY ALBERT CAMUS.
Translated by Stuart Gilbert. $3

The Blood of Others. BY SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR.
Translated by Roger Senhouse and Yvonne Moyse. $2.75

All published by Knopf, New York

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Books *continued*

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

HER THEME: ANGUISH

achieve that synthesis between physical, emotional and intellectual forces which, as both experience and great literature have taught us, is man's answer to desperate challenges.

A conscious rejection of sheer intellectual functioning lends great beauty and force to "Man is Strong." The book has three heroes: a man named Dirck, a girl named Barbara. and the terrible emotion called Fear. True, fear here is not on the metaphysical level, it is a blend of physical and psychological terror. But in Alvaro's masterful description it is devastating enough to tear the heart out of anyone who doesn't possess that ancient, mysterious *x* element which in this book saves Dirck, and which in the course of man's bloodsoaked history had saved the lives and the moral integrity of thousands of his spiritual ancestors.

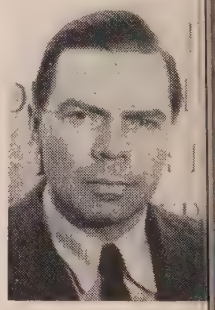
The circumstance that Dirck has just returned from abroad suffices to throw on him and Barbara the suspicion that they are not slavish worshippers of the totalitarian regime which rules their country. A remote secret police decides to trap the suspects, for it is better to have a thousand innocents die than one guilty person escape. The two are convinced by mysterious maneuvers that their every word and gesture, and probably their very thoughts, are known to superior powers. In the atmosphere of hallucination created around them, the walls have ears, each passerby is a spy, the look exchanged between a man and a woman may send them to the scaffold. The pressure aims at demoralizing and crazing the victims. They must either commit a desperate act of rebellion or confess to an imaginary guilt. In either case the victims will be put to death not because the persecutors are sadistic but because the "people need be shown examples; they need obstacles to overcome. They need, in short, to triumph ov their enemies." When there are enemies over whom to triumph, th must be invented.

Under this pressure, collectiv philosophy penetrates the very so of the individual in a nightmarish subtle manner. Love itself becom treason. "To belong to one man, save up for him depths of feelin that were incommunicable to an body else. To separate oneself fro all others, to reject their compan to be one. Here was the crime. Or must be part of the whole," Barba reasons, panic-stricken.

Dirck refuses to accept this tot annihilation of his soul. Skirtin death by an inch he escapes an although he is caught and lies in hospital severely wounded, "he b

CORRADO ALVARO

HIS THEME: COURAGE



gan to make new plans for escape. These are the last, significant word of the novel. Man is strong, stronge than all the power of nameless, mon strous organizations. Man is stron in the rejection of the evil, in pro test. Thus he shall survive the hell o spiritual sickness he himself has cre ated.

In Camus' beautiful book, Evil i a force of nature. It strikes out o the blue, its destructiveness en hanced by man's ignorance. But i it is impossible to eliminate evil, i is perfectly feasible for good me to fight back, slowly, methodically with determination, devotion and hu mility. There is a character in th novel, Father Paneloux, who in hi priestly fervor conceives of th plague as a divine trial. But for Dr Rieux, the hero of the novel, no idea not even the most sublime, justifie the sufferings of the innocent. Whe the young son of Othon the judg dies, the horrible fate of this child symbol of innocence, shakes Father Paneloux to the depth of his soul Later he himself catches the plague but the reader has the impression that the priest welcomes it and hur ries to die before he has lost his

faith. The spiritual duel between him and Dr. Rieux is one of the most moving and most masterfully presented conflicts in modern literature.

On top of the collective tragedy, Dr. Rieux loses his wife and his best friend. But, instead of sinking into inconsolate grief and bitterness, he finds refuge and solace in a compassionate understanding of his fellow humans. "In time of pestilence people were just the same as ever. But this was at once their strength and their innocence, and it was on this level, beyond grief, that Rieux could feel himself at one with them." He concludes that "there are more things to admire in men than to despise."

The humanism of such men as Camus, which, however, doesn't deny the essentially tragic character of life, is perhaps the best thing that has come out of Western Europe in the past decade. Occasionally it may sound oversimplified or even naive. But in the spiritual gap caused by the rejection both of metaphysical salvation and of regeneration through violence, practice of charity and respect for individual happiness are surely notions which will not lead mankind astray and will fill human lives with warmth and meaning.

The three novels have varying artistic merits. This reviewer has boundless admiration for Mr. Camus'

ALBERT CAMUS

HIS THEME: COMPASSION

ability of leading up to suspenseful and meaningful climactic scenes and also for the lucid tightness of his sentences next to which Simone de Beauvoir's prose strikes one as rather pedestrian. He also salutes Alvaro's condensed power in presenting situations which verge on the limit between reality and phantasm. The translations are excellent.

There is no doubt that the Western European mind is in a state of great creative ferment. Ruins may disguise the vitality of this tried race of artists and thinkers, but books like these three reveal that, for Europe, truth is at least as essential as bread.

From the Heart of Europe
by F. O. Matthiessen. New York, Oxford University Press, $3.50.

It was a beautiful and important occasion when in the summer of 1947 a few professors from the United States sat down with a group of European students of many nationalities to analyze the history and the merits of American literature. The little book in which Prof. F. O. Matthiessen discusses that Salzburg Seminar and his subsequent trips to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Denmark is beautiful and important.

Here is a man who took to Europe not political schemes or economic proposals but knowledge, enthusiasms and ideas. Here is a man who has no interests but those which can be shared by all who love arts and letters and through them can lift their spirits beyond the barrier of nationalities and ideologies.

The America thus presented to the young Austrians, Czechs, Italians, Greeks, Frenchmen and Hungarians must have been a surprising one. It must have been an America never suspected to the readers of sensational headlines or to those who had heard too much of the "American Century" and America's sheer physical power. Marshall Plans are not enough to fill the gap between minds and, without showing to the world what is the best and the most unselfish in the United States, its politicians and economists will never overcome the latent resistance of other continents.

T. K.

The Chinese in Malaya
by Victor Purcell. New York, Oxford University Press, $6.00.

In the last 150 years, impelled by overpopulation of their homeland, by disaffection with oppressive rule, and by their own enterprising spirit, the southern Chinese have defied the ancestral spirits that bound them to their exhausted soil, and penetrated new lands—as artisans, shopkeepers, cultivators, and manufacturers. Mr. Purcell's book is a history and social study of one of the largest of these foreign colonies.

A pioneering tale, with little glory and without a hero, its drama lies in its sheer lawlessness. Although the British were the first European colonizers to recognize the usefulness of Chinese intelligence, industry, and financial genius, it was soon apparent that the Chinese were not inclined always to exercise their skills for the benefit of John Company.

Against the white empire builders, the Chinese defense was their secret societies. These institutions were religious, benevolent, charitable, murderous, piratical, and egotistic; and they expressed themselves in disciplined mayhem. All very paradoxical indeed from a European's view, but, perhaps, logical enough to the Chinese. Certainly they fostered a way of life, social customs, ethical values, and political allegiances under a government which, in the early days, was ill-equipped to rule sensibly a people of whose habits it was wholly ignorant. In recent times, growing understanding of Chinese patterns of behavior has led to such improvement in the relations between government and this

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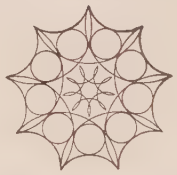

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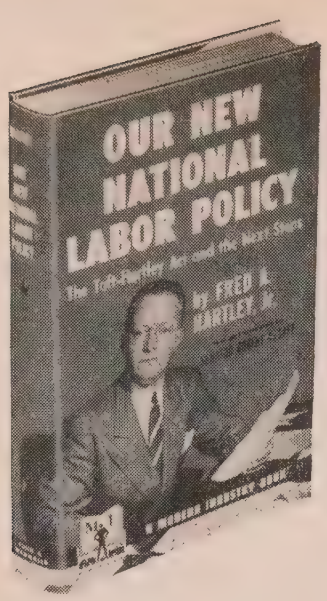

A report to the American people

By Representative

FRED A. HARTLEY, Jr.

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With a foreword by Senator

ROBERT A. TAFT

IN this new book the man most responsible for the development of our new national labor policy makes his frank, revealing report to the nation. Here is a permanent record of how and why the Taft-Hartley Act was developed and enacted, a first-hand account of what our legislators attempted to accomplish by passing the law, pointing out what it neglects and what changes are likely to occur in it in the future. Includes the text of the Act itself. $2.85

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fractious minority, that Mr. Purcell flatly describes modern Malaya as a "joint creation of British and Chinese enterprise."

Mr. Purcell's book helps the puzzled newspaper reader understand the slowly-ripening discord between Malayans and Chinese, which has made the latter such frequent victims of insurrectionist bullets in recent weeks. It is also rich in information for the scholar. And its footnotes, in defiance of fashion, are not imprisoned in the back of the book; they are where they should be, at the bottom of the page.

B. S. K.

The New Congo

by Tom Marvel. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $5.00.

The new Congo is no Congo to the romantics. In this thorough-going study, Tom Marvel reveals a country where modern towns with dreary imposed names (Costermansville!) lie scattered over the map like soda pop bottles in a pristine grove; where a futuristic jargon born of big business is spoken (you buy gasoline at *Petrocongo*, cotton at *Cotonco*); where trimly tailored Congolese live in white stucco bungalows; where the "untamable" African elephant is pressed to heavy field and forest work, and where reforestation of Stanley's "inexhaustible" forests is a major problem.

After a brief review of early exploration and the devious methods whereby far-sighted Leopold II of Belgium contrived to secure this rich land for his country, Marvel surveys the great watershed district by district, examining what is being done by government and by private persons to develop natural resources and foster new enterprises, raise—or change—living standards with hospitals, technical schools and experiment stations for agriculture (including jungle resins) and animal breeding (including silk worms); with copper, gold, diamond and uranium mines. There is also a section devoted to that most interesting trusteeship, Ruanda-Urundi, land of the tall Batutsi where Belgian rule has been recently so sharply criticized by the Trusteeship Council of the UN.

Among other purposes, this book should certainly serve to snatch the Congo from the domain of the Explorers' Club, and place it among the Thomas Cook Commonwealth of Nations.

B. S. K.

Survival and Suicide

Edited by Harry H. Moore, New York: Harper & Brothers. $2.00.

Problems of gigantic weight are part and parcel of the humblest citizen's daily life. Atomic War, Russia, the United Nations, the Marshall Plan are subjects of table conversations in millions of American homes. The aim of *Survival and Suicide* is on the one hand to expose in a clear and simple manner the origin and the core of the basic difficulties which obstruct peace and on the other to illustrate the ways in which a better world may be built.

The chapters of the book have been taken from the writings of such experts in various fields as David Lilienthal, Leland Stone, John Fischer and others. Eight were written by the editor himself. This sm volume fulfills excellently the task of primer on primarily important world pro lems.

Esperanto: The World Interlangua Compiled by: J. A. Connor, D. T. Conne W. Solzbach, the Very Reverend Dr. J. Se-Tsien Kao. New York, The Beec hurst Press, $2.50.

Recently at a UNESCO Executive Boa meeting, Dr. Julian Huxley, Director-Ge eral of UNESCO, urged the adoption of universal auxiliary language. He requeste the use of basic English, basic Russian, Esperanto. Whether or not the authors this book were directly spurred by M Huxley, they have edited what is probabl the most comprehensive handbook on Esp ranto. Having had actual experience in th use of the language in 55 countrie throughout the world, they make out very plausible case for this internationa language.

The book is really six books in one: discussion of the world language problem and the aims and claims of Esperanto; practical textbook; a reader's guideboo showing how to make use of Esperanto and Esperanto-English and English-Espe ranto dictionaries.

J. M. B.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE

Author Stalin

In Russia, newspapers are published in 80 different languages, books in 119. Russia's renaissance has made it possible for millions in remote parts of the Union to read. Before the Revolution, more than 40 national groups had no written language.

All-time Russian best-seller is Stalin's Communist Party history which has sold more than 30 million copies. Next most popular are books on science, agriculture, philosophy—then fiction. Russian fiction favorites are Maxim Gorky, Pushkin and Tolstoy. Shakespeare, Victor Hugo and Theodore Dreiser are widely read non-Russians.

They Accuse

True stories of 300 Jewish children in Poland have been published in an anthology entitled, "Children Accuse," by the Jewish Historical Institute. The stories relate experiences during the Nazi occupation.

Forty Jewish doctors have compiled a report on malnutrition diseases which they studied—sometimes observing themselves — in Poland's ghettos during the war. The book, "Starvation Diseases," is published by the Joint Distribution Committee.

WORLD TRADE

A World Business Section for World Businessmen

September

Policy Report on Oil

Haifa–1948's Boom Town

McCloy–World Bank and Recovery

Humble Refinery at Baytown, Texas (see next page)

WILDCATTERS, SALESMEN, BANKERS CALL IT 'LIQUID GOLD'—
ECONOMISTS, ENGINEERS, STATESMEN KNOW
IT TO BE THE MOTHER'S MILK OF THE MODERN MACHINE

Policy Report On World Trends in . . . OIL

WHILE the planetary world still turns on its axis, the industrial world turns, increasingly, on oil.

In its varied forms from grease to gas, it is the mineral by which modern machines are nourished. It does infinitely more than lubricate cogs, gears, wheels. It fires the cylinders for tractors and trucks and tanks, and for planes and pumps from Cleveland to Calcutta. It is the fuel for Diesels in locomotives, in men-of-war and in cargo ships. It heats homes, offices, factories. Above all it is the crucial energizer which, like live chlorophyll or flowing blood, marks the difference between the quick and the dead.

The story of oil as a commodity could be told in terms of geo-politics or geo-physics. It could be a record of the work of scientists and engineers, entrepreneurs, riggers, drillers, in desert, jungle, mountain range, amid the cities of the plain and off the ocean coasts along the tidewater shelf.

That story could be told in terms of oil's prophets, its profits, its patriots and its perfidies; or in terms of retort vigils in the laboratory, of logistical maps, of the competition between business groups and between governments. Oil pervades and permeates our modern modality to such an extent, that people who locate it, test it, or otherwise deal with it, tend often to personify it—in much the same way that the ancient Greeks assigned to their gods human attributes. This animistic approach is not surprising in a day when the moral has become largely a branch of the mechanistic.

What is surprising is that this enshrinement of oil as our *deus in machina* has been both so very recent and so very rapid.

In 1913, for example, 90 per cent of all the energy (non-animal) produced throughout the globe came from coal. Petroleum and its products supplied only 6 per cent, while the remaining 4 per cent was divided almost equally between natural gas and water power, predominantly in its hydro-electric forms. But with the compulsive push given to technology by World Wars I and II, and with the ever-increasing use of oil-propelled machines, coal by 1947 had dropped to 60 per cent as an energizer while oil was nudging 30 per cent and natural gas and water power had risen to 10 per cent.

CONSUMPTION OVERTAKES NEW DISCOVERIES

The industrial application of atomic energy as a prime mover is still in the laboratory stage. The use of synthetic oil is nearer but still has hard lines ahead. In the here and now, therefore, natural oil, the "crude" which, from the flowing well, is refined, cracked or otherwise transformed into 2200 different products, from the "pea-soup" fuel for smelters to ultra high-octane for B-36's, remains the supreme energizer of our day.

At the moment, the prospects are that natural oil will be even more important in the years immediately ahead.

As the pace of industrialization is stepped up over the globe, as nations build up armaments, the demand for oil will continue to climb at a rate that even two years ago would have been scoffed at as an H. G. Wells version of the shape of things to come. By 1951 world consumption of oil is expected to reach the incredible peak of 10.7 million barrels a day, in contrast to 5.5 in 1940.

Unlike rubber or steel, oil disappears with use, and leaves nothing to be reclaimed as "scrap." Hence it is particularly necessary to find fresh deposits to replenish a supply that is being constantly and swiftly depleted. Despite alarmists, the world faces no immediate shortage—if "immediate" is taken to mean up to 50 years. But individual nations, notably those covered under the ERP, the USSR, almost all of Asia, Africa, and Australia, as well as most Latin American countries, are on the oil deficit side in terms of need.

There are about 66 billion barrels (42 gallons each) of oil reserves underground—50 billion "proved" by drilling operations, and 16 billion "indicated" from estimates made of

A FARM of nine oil tanks which service wells in the Turner Valley Field in Alberta, Canada. One derrick may be seen in the streambed to the right of the tanks, another on the bench above at left. The sentry box-like house near the tanks shelters pipeline valves. Driven by pumps in such stations as this, Turner Valley crude is piped to a Royalite refinery 60 miles away.

deposits only partially explored. Of this total, American interests control some 59 per cent, two-thirds of that in the Mid-Continent and Gulf Coast regions of the US and one-third in the Caribbean and Middle East. The British control around 21 per cent, primarily in countries surrounding the Persian Gulf; and the USSR 11 per cent, 10 per cent inside the far flung land mass from the Caspian basin to the Ural and Volga territory and one per cent foreign (Rumania, Austria, Hungary). The Dutch have 5 per cent in the Middle East and Indonesia. France has 2 per cent in Alsace as well as in Algeria, Morocco, Iraq. All other nations together, including Mexico, control only 2 per cent.

The uneven geologic concentration of oil in five major areas (USA, Caribbean, Middle East, USSR, Indonesia) is exceeded by even greater concentration of ownership and operation of oil fields. The ERP nations (except UK, France and the Netherlands), India, Japan, China, South America (outside Venezuela and Colombia), Africa and Australia, all have little direct access to oil. What access they have is to small fields within their own borders or nearby.

OIL IS WHERE YOU FIND IT

The ability to produce oil or have it available is a master key to strength—industrial, political, and military. This accounts for the scramble for new pools now being conducted at the most feverish speed. Private companies, governments, in some cases both in concert, are seeking new and potential oil resources as never before. This great global oil drive has in its hecticness become an international variant—a projection many times enlarged—of the great American gold rush in '49.

■ In Chile, for example, the government has signed a contract with US firms to bring in new wells on its half of the island of Tierra del Fuego.

■ In Argentina, where the state maintains a rigid jurisdiction over oil, the Peron regime is planning to quicken development of fields and refineries as soon as the necessary equipment can be imported.

■ In Brazil, where oil is nationalized, US concerns are being welcomed

with a new enthusiasm and attractive concession terms.

■ In Mexico the public corporation PEMEX which runs the oil industry is seeking to erase the bitter memory of expropriations from the minds of US oilmen and executives and has engaged an American company to sink 190 new wells. Mexico, however, still clings to the constitutional provision that makes illegal foreign holdings of the oil beds themselves.

■ In Venezuela which ranks second only to the US as world oil producer, some 3.7 million acres of additional oil land are being either proved or readied up, largely by US owners of concession rights who have 75 per cent of Venezuela's oil production. Under Venezuelan oil laws, outside firms have to explore assigned oil areas within a stipulated two to seven years, or lose legal title to them. This statute of limitation is currently superfluous. US companies at the moment need no outside urging to acquire new pools, build refineries, arrange for overseas transportation. The same is true of oil companies and combines practically everywhere around the globe.

■ In Canada, discovery of new deposits near the Leduc, Alberta, field has fostered a sanguine quest for oil in many other parts of the Dominion, notably in Saskatchewan, Ontario and New Brunswick.

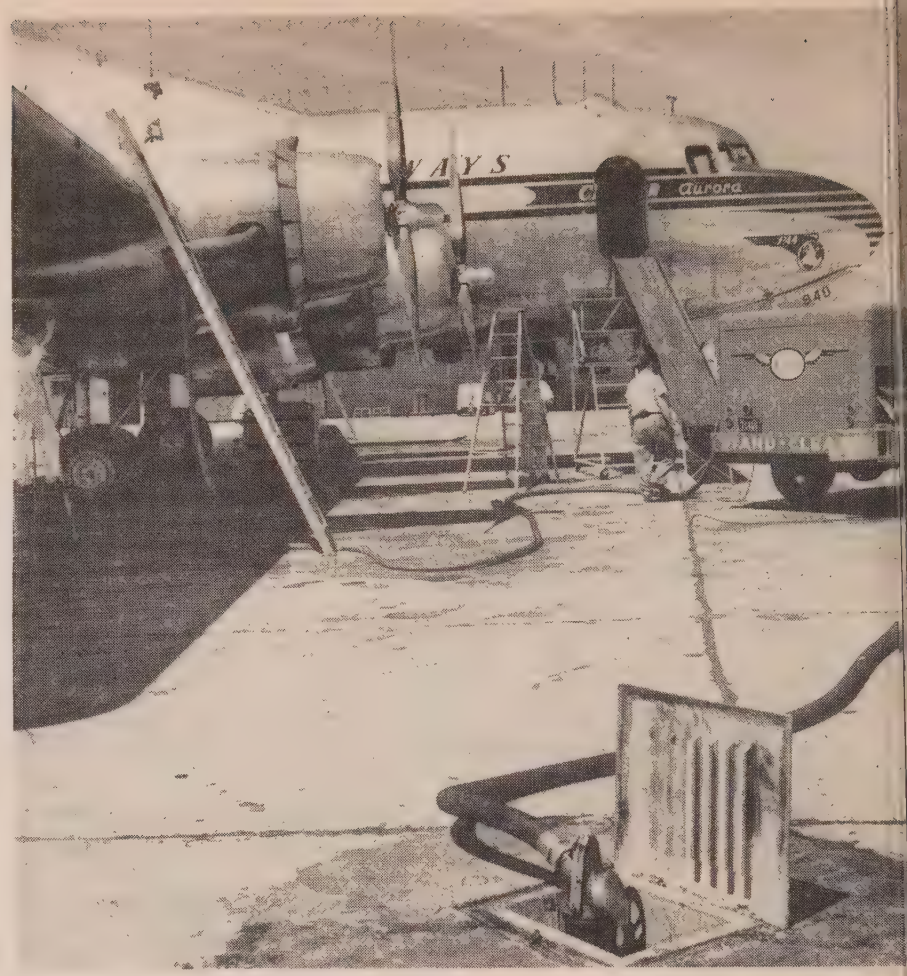
■ In Alaska, the US Navy's oil strike near Point Barrow, beyond the Arctic circle, is being vigorously pushed with government funds.

■ In the USSR, an army of oil prospectors has been mobilized to examine the vast expanse of the Soviet Union. The Soviets must have oil and yet more oil, and geologists hope to find it in Siberia, in the Ural and Caucasus mountain regions, in the Turkoman and Baltic Republics, though they are searching virtually every area where any promise exists of finding the black gold.

■ In Italy, Denmark and Sweden both national and American firms reflect the same strenuous search for oil.

■ In Holland a Dutch organization is extracting oil along the coast of the Zuider Zee.

■ In Turkey, the government has hired two US concerns to explore and develop oil reserves, but confines them to a fee and royalty arrangement. Turkey, like Mexico and the USSR, will not grant any non-national enterprise an outright concession.



HIGH OCTANE. The plane is being refueled with a pump which forces gasoline from distant tanks directly into plane. A hose attached to a valve in the opened "box" in the foreground leads to a booster pump in the truck, thence directly into the wing tanks.

■ The Middle East, outside of Turkey, is both starting point and finish line in today's international oil marathon. The countries which make up that area (Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, Kuwait, Bahrein, Trans-Jordan, Lebanon, and Palestine) equal in size to about 62 per cent of the land mass of the United States. One vast concession alone, the so-called Arabian grant, covers some 435,000 square miles, a territory equivalent to the states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana.

WORLD'S BIGGEST SINGLE OIL POOL

It is in this region where the oil stakes are prodigious—industrially, politically and militarily—that the rivalry among the American, British, Dutch and French is as it has long been at high pitch. The Americans are in the lead, having gained control of over 40 per cent of the oil reserves there. From the sidelines the Russians are watching with something more than a bystander's idle curiosity.

The Middle East contains 43 per cent of the world's oil reserves underground, but now produces only 9.3 per cent of the world's oil supply. By contrast, the US with 33 per cent of the world's reserves today provides 67 per cent of the world's oil.

This situation recently inspired the US House Armed Services Committee to warn that ". . . as a nation we are living profligately today in our use of petroleum products. . . . We are providing inadequately for national defense at a time of great international tension. . . . Early action is imperative . . . unless we want to jeopardize the national safety and

render future generations hostage to our own profligacy. . . ."

This warning seemed to fortify the claims of some that the US oil shortage was already grievous in peace and would be desperate in war. Neither contention is correct, but they are based on some startling facts that, taken out of context could be cause for needless concern, and even panic.

Take demand alone: In 1948 there are in the US 3.7 million more cars, trucks, buses than in 1940; 1.1 million more tractors, 4200 more diesel locomotives, and 1.4 million more oil burners.

If the present demand curve keeps rising, the American people will consume as much oil in the next 15 years as they consumed during the past 50. The difference between new discoveries of oil and the rate at which it is being used up grows smaller every hour. In 1920, new discoveries were 1.76 billion barrels, domestic output .44 billion barrels, with the result that production in relation to discovery stood at 46.8 per cent, a comfortable margin of safety. But in 1947 while new discoveries were up to 1.98 billion barrels, output was up to 1.85 billion barrels. Production in relation to discovery had soared to 93.4, a safety margin of less than 7 per cent.

The oil needs of the rest of the world will double within the next 10 years—from 2.9 billion barrels a year to some 5.8 billion barrels.

The US has cumulatively consumed about 35 billion barrels. At the moment some 25.5 billion are underground within the continental US.

Obviously if this amount were all the US could depend on, its oil resources could be virtually depleted within the next 10 to 15 years or thereabouts.

Obviously, too, in case of a new war the armed forces would require vastly more oil than in World War II even as World War II required 19 times as much oil as World War I. A mere 25 billion barrel reservoir would be cut into with appalling speed. But, and this "but" is a big one, the US potentially has upwards of 40 billion barrels of oil that can be and is being extracted by means of underwater operations from the Tidelands off California and the Gulf Coasts of Texas and Louisiana.

Moreover, synthetic oil, formed from natural gas, oil shale, tar sands, and coal, is extremely practical to manufacture, as demonstrated by the Germans from 1939 forward. These raw materials exist in the US in such profusion that, in theory, they could be made to yield 4 trillion barrels of oil, an almost inexhaustible supply.

Some scientists believe that within the next two years it will not be insuperably difficult to convert such cheap carbohydrates as corn cobs, grass, and saw dust into the hydrocarbon, oil. From these ingredients, a Carnegie Institute researcher, before his death in 1946, had already evolved a fuel oil suitable for donkey engines and other special types.

HOW THE ARGUMENTS BALANCE OUT

But on the whole subject of synthetics, the US government and the US oil industry are not in complete accord; this underscores the fact that the American people lack any clear-cut over-all oil policy not only on synthetics but also on exports and imports, conservation, and stockpiling measures, the allocation of steel for new pipelines and refinery equipment, and many related concerns. They have only a variety of separate programs, sometimes in harmony, sometimes in conflict.

They are in harmony as when the government supports American firms in acquiring new foreign concessions and markets. They are in harmony also when the long-run aspects of oil are discussed and debated. Both government and industry spokesmen agree that production of synthetic and its variants will ultimately have to become a major source of supply. But they differ as to the time element. Strategists in Army, Navy and Air Force contend that, for military security, the US should this very minute be constructing large-scale synthetic oil plants. On the other hand, the high command in the oil industry appears confident that synthetics development can await normal gradual adaptation to new needs as they arise or are forecast; that intensive worldwide exploration, meantime, of natural deposits can guarantee fulfillment of all US demands, martial and pacific—despite local and seasonal difficulties resulting from transportation delays. But, even in case of war—and even though it cut off Middle Eastern fields whose output goes mainly to ERP nations (and, potentially, US allies), the industry's brass seems calmly sure:

(1) That US and Latin American reserves can be tapped at a rate fast enough to furnish all the West's military requirements, even though civilians may have to be rigorously rationed;

(2) That on the remote chance that this wouldn't work out the scien-

FROM THE OCEAN BED

ISLAND BUILDING. Piles driven 150 feet deep into the Gulf of Mexico will be braced by this templet of 16-inch piping to strengthen a drilling platform for a Humble Oil Co. producing unit. The size of workmen on the platform give the scale.

tific, technical and managerial talents and other resources in their industry would enable it to duplicate the performance of the rubber industry (See UNW July, 1948) which under wartime pressures produced ample synthetic substitutes within a miraculously brief period.

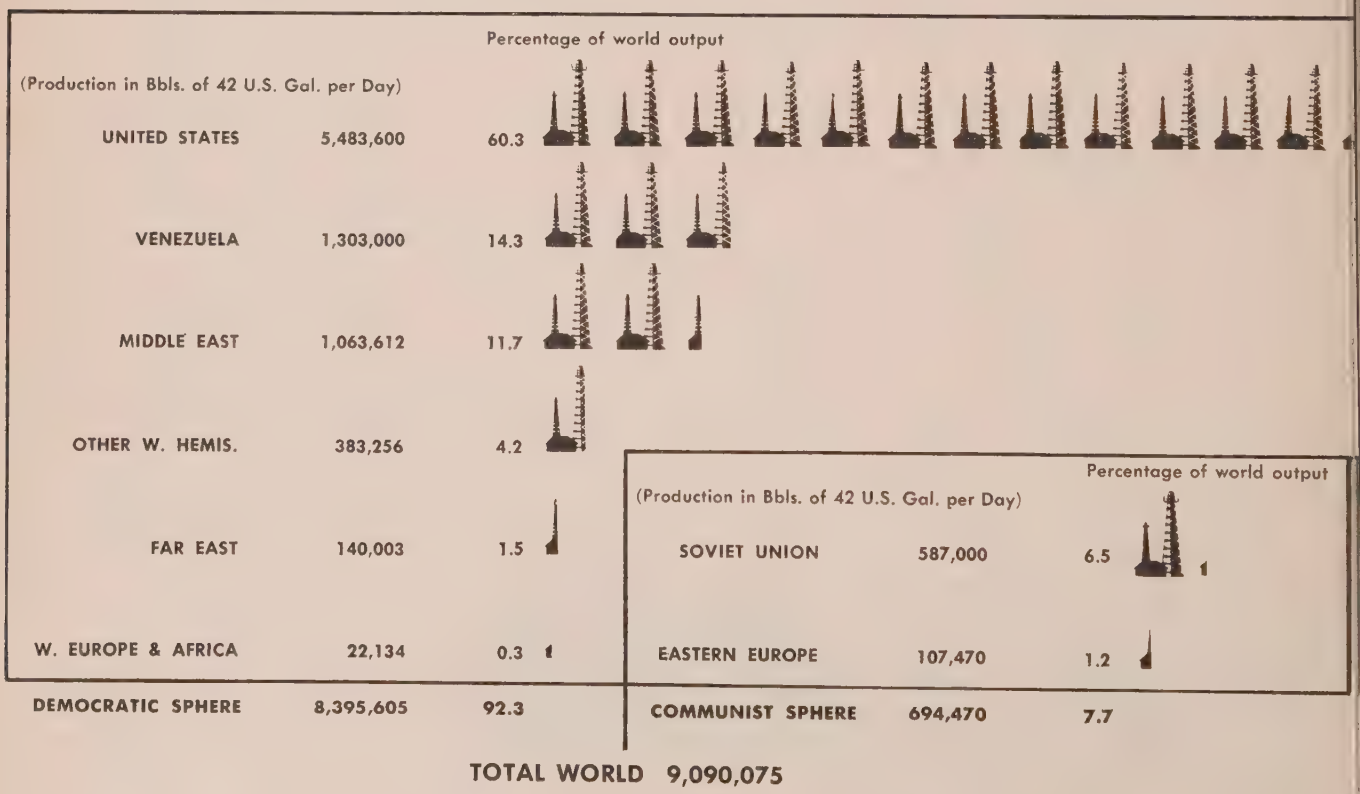
When confronted by this latter argument, top defense officials often react with something akin to apoplexy. They declare that in a "next war," the time-interval between victory and defeat might be a matter of months rather than years, and the extent of US self-sufficiency in oil could be decisive. To this line of reasoning, the industry replies that, granting the understandable determination of military leaders to be prepared against any conceivable contingency, it would seem axiomatic that on their own premises the shorter the "next war" may be the more certain that US and Latin American resources will suffice.

The American oil industry has taken a similar, if less persuasive, view toward moves by the civilian branch of the government to stimulate large-scale synthetic oil output. The government's aim is to insure an adequate oil supply against the substantial depletion of current reserves within the decade. J. A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, recently recommended that present synthetic oil facilities (now confined to a few vanguard experimental set ups) be expanded under a 10 year program that would cost 9 billion dollars, require 16 million tons of steel, and be capable of filling around 40 per cent of present oil needs. He emphasized that the intricate parts of a vigorous synthetic oil industry cannot be fitted together overnight. Prudence, if not preparedness, he pointed out, suggests that, as natural sources decline, synthetic sources should be made ready to replace them. He has urged Congress to appropriate funds to stimulate and finance research and production by government "pilot plants" and by private enterprise, aided by low interest RFC loans.

Up until only yesterday, the industry on the whole opposed this trend of thought. Its technicians tended to contest government claims that synthetic oil—except from natural gas—is already practical. They insist that, despite the evidence of Germany's ability to run the Wehrmacht largely on coal-based synthetic oil, its manufacture is still too costly to justify any ventures in large-scale production in the immediate future. Its executives were apprehensive lest government assistance become intervention up to the point of undue influence.

Latterly, however, there are signs that the industry's more or less solid front against government encouragement of synthetic oil production is giving way. Some key policy makers are becoming more susceptible to the thinking implicit in the Krug proposals: i.e. The American oil industry owes something to its own future, to the American people, and to the US role in the global economy. It can best meet that obligation by devoting at least a fair portion of the time and trouble and money and manpower now being spent on natural oil exploration and development, to a careful re-evaluation of synthetic oil's potentialities—if not today, then tomorrow or the day after, at the latest.

THE WORLD OIL-PRODUCTION PICTURE



From data compiled by B. Orchard Lisle of "The Oil Forum"

No other nation produces more than 25 per cent as much crude as the US. In Venezuela, the bulk of the oil is owned by US companies. By contrast, Soviet Russia produces one tenth as much. This explains Russian concern over American operations in the Middle East where the bulk of the world's oil reserves lie. Each derrick represents 5% of world output.

President of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

John J. McCloy

Tells Where Its Money Goes

THE AUTHOR, center, functioning as president of the International Bank. At right, Vice-President Robert L. Garner, also an American. At left, Dr. L. R. W. Soutendijk, counselor of Dutch Embassy in Washington. Subject: a shipping loan (see page 51).

THE PARAMOUNT AIM of the International Bank is to play a practical role in the world's progress toward economic recovery. Once a substantial measure of recovery is achieved, the Bank can continue to play an equally practical role in sustaining a balanced and healthy world economy. To help finance sound, productive projects—both in countries devastated by war and in the world's underdeveloped areas—the Bank seeks to encourage the tendency of private finance to invest capital abroad, and to quicken the tempo at which this is done.

The Bank has 46 member nations; its operations touch all major areas of the world; it has in 20 months of existence already made six loans totalling more than half a billion dollars. To appraise clearly the Bank's present and future tasks consider its operations, first in Europe and then in other areas.

In the field of European recovery, the operations of the Bank for the time being are certain to be dwarfed by a very welcome competitor—the United States Economic Co-operation Administration. The reasons for this are hardly obscure. The economic disruption wrought by World War II—not only in terms of physical devastation, but also and particularly in terms of the dislocation of trade patterns—has been far greater than was or perhaps could have been foreseen at Bretton Woods. The funds which the Bank can loan, while substantial, are not unlimited. The major source of these lending funds must come from the bonds which the Bank sells on the private investment markets.

Furthermore, the Bank is in no sense a relief organization. It can make only productive loans with reasonable certainty of repayment. An institution such as the Bank, with these requirements and these objectives, can fill an appreciable need even if it cannot fill the entire need. The Bank could neither ignore nor by itself overcome the deficits in balance of payments of war-stricken nations. To cope with these deficits, the ERP was formed. The International Bank has a direct and immediate stake in the success of ERP. One of the critical needs today, from the viewpoint of world economic recovery and stability is restoration of a vigorous European economy. Europe urgently requires the assistance being furnished under ERP. This assistance raises the productive potentialities of Europe, which in turn increases the beneficial effect of Bank loans to the European area, and elsewhere.

The primary objective of ERP, it is clear, is to provide European nations with basic essentials—food, fuel, raw material which will enable them to maintain their existing economies. Important as this is, the ultimate success of ERP cannot be measured by the amount of such supplies Europe can thus obtain. The test is a more fundamental one.

It is whether the European coun-

tries, during the period when ERP funds are available to support their existing economies, can put forth the tremendous productive effort, the reorganization of trade patterns, and accomplish the far-reaching integration of their economies which alone will enable them to endure when ERP ends. The test, in short, is whether Europe will be re-established as an effective economic unit. One of the most encouraging aspects of ERP is the determination expressed by the participating countries to achieve such an integration by co-ordinating their long-range import and investment programs.

MAKING INVESTMENTS DESIGNED FOR PRODUCTION

It is along these lines that the International Bank can make its most effective contribution to European recovery. It is the Bank's intention, therefore, while carrying on its development operations, to supplement ERP primarily by financing selected projects which add permanently to the productive capacities of the countries concerned. One of the main purposes of the Bank's operations is to promote the long-range balanced growth of international trade. In supplementing ERP assistance to Europe to the extent its resources permit, the Bank will be particularly interested in those projects which will benefit more than one of the participating countries and which will generally promote world trade.

Furthermore, the Bank will take steps to assure that the projects which it finances are consistent with any over-all investment program worked out by the European nations. It has established close working relationships with both the ECA in Washington and the OEEC in Europe.

The fundamental question of increasing Europe's productive capacity is not new to the Bank. It was engaged in lending operations a year before ECA came into existence and presumably will continue to perform effectively when ERP is past history. The Bank has already made a modest but solid start in this type of productive financing.

It has made four loans to the European area: $250,000,000 to France; $195,000,000 to the Netherlands; $40,000,000 to Denmark; and $12,000,000 to Luxembourg—a total of $497,000,000. The loans provided for purchase of specific goods which the borrowing countries most needed to maintain and increase production. By permitting the borrowing countries, for a time, to sustain the necessary volume of essential imports, these loans helped to prevent a disastrous drop in production and possible economic collapse.

Specifically what types of supplies and equipment have these loans financed? What uses are they being put to in the borrowing countries of Europe? A brief answer to these questions will give some indication as to which sectors of the European economy are feeling the effects of the Bank's activities.

In the case of France, more than 100 new locomotives are in use by the French National Railways, in addition to a large volume of spare parts for the construction and repair of freight cars. To rebuild the country's badly damaged transportation system, parts of the proceeds of the French loan were used to purchase airplanes, river barges and tankers. In the sphere of industrial production, the loan has financed equipment for a steel mill, for automobile and truck manufacture, and earth-moving equipment for hydro-electric power plants. The loan has also supplied the French economy with fuel, and industrial materials, principally steel products, copper and cotton.

In the case of the Netherlan some 50 cargo vessels have be added to the Dutch merchant marin The loan has financed equipment f the shipbuilding, metal and textile i dustries; as well as fuel and fertilize

The loan to Denmark has been us to purchase agricultural machiner equipment for the chemical and te tile industries; copper and lead f the construction of trans-ocean cables.

In Luxembourg, the Bank loan financing equipment for a new ste mill together with locomotives an other rolling stock for the railway

It is apparent that the Bank h made a tangible contribution to th efforts of the European nations solve their great problem of increase productivity. It is clear also that th mere restoration of European produ tion and trade to pre-war levels wi not suffice. A much greater volume goods must be produced—and e ported—if Europe is to become sel supporting after the ERP period. Th Bank hopes to continue to play practical part in achieving these goal

The urgency of Europe's recover is a matter of concern to all but it i only one phase and perhaps not th major phase of the Bank's activitie They are particularly on the increas in underdeveloped regions. In th long run, the investment problems o its lesser developed member countrie undoubtedly will constitute the Bank' primary concern.

DEVELOPMENT IS A LONG JOB—AND EXPENSIVE

In the development field to date th Bank has approved two loans—total ing $16,000,000—to Chile. These ar to be used to strengthen and diversif the Chilean economy, mainly by en larging electrical and water-power re sources; and to improve agricultur by importing modern tractors an threshers and the like. The Chilea loan is only a precursor of a numbe of others, several of which are clos to completion.

A Provocative Article in Next Month's WORLD TRADE Department

Wanted: A Science of Psycho-Economics

BY HERBERT HARRIS
World Business Editor

The development field holds vast opportunities for contributing to the expansion of the world economy. The shape of realistic development programs will vary widely from country to country. The primary need may be to improve transportation and communication facilities, to build power projects, water systems, and other public utilities, to introduce up-to-date techniques to process agricultural products, to promote industries, irrigation projects, or resettlement programs—to list but a few of the forms such development projects may take.

It must be remembered, however, that it takes a relatively long time to complete engineering and other technical studies necessary to bring development projects up to the point where they are ready for financing. One of the most useful functions the Bank can have in this field at the moment, therefore, is to assist its member nations in mapping out the broad, realistic development patterns most suited to their particular economies.

Wherever possible, the Bank endeavors also to assist these countries in selecting, for initial financing, those projects which seem most likely to advance the national economic development along sound lines. The Bank is convinced that this is best promoted, not by sporadic injections of large amounts of capital, but by a steady flow of capital in moderate amounts. The Bank stands ready at all times to offer technical advice to its member nations in working out their internal development plans.

In my trip through South America last Spring, I found the countries which I visited keenly aware of these questions. The officials with whom I talked were not thinking of huge, impractical projects. They were thinking of specific projects which, though relatively small in themselves, could have a beneficial effect on whole economies. They also were every bit as interested in getting technical advice from the International Bank, and other sources, as in getting dollar loans.

There has been an impressive increase in the number of projects in various areas of the world brought to the Bank for its consideration. At the present time, several development loans are in an advanced stage of negotiation. Informal discussions regarding other projects are being conducted with more than 20 member countries—in Latin America, Europe, Africa, the Middle East and the Far East.

While the Bank is not interested in promoting any particular pattern of development, per se, there are certain broad principles which it follows. For one thing, because the Bank's resources are limited in relation to the total development needs of its member countries, it emphasizes those strategic projects which will eliminate production bottlenecks. Second, the Bank of course is interested particularly in projects which are likely to contribute to a better balance in world trade. Third, the Bank's loans must be confined to projects for which financing through private or other channels is not available on reasonable terms.

Together with its own lending operations, the Bank seeks constantly to stimulate sound private investment. This is, in fact, one of the principal purposes for which the Bank was created. By its charter, the Bank itself cannot make a loan unless the borrower is unable to obtain the loan elsewhere on reasonable terms.

The Bank can encourage private international investment in a variety of ways. It may, for example, guarantee or participate in loans made by others. By the time this article is published, the first use of the Bank's guarantee powers may have been displayed in a loan to four Dutch shipping companies, part of which can be purchased by private banks in the United States, guaranteed as to principal and interest by the International Bank. The purpose of this loan is to contribute to the revival of the pre-war earning power of Dutch shipping, which would contribute vitally to buttressing the Dutch economy.

While making productive loans, the Bank also encourages private investment in the sense of strengthening the credit standing of the borrower. In its entire operations, the Bank seeks to set the general standards of international investment on terms fair to both the lender and borrower.

The field of activity of the International Bank is still new, but the Bank is developing a variety of techniques to channel capital into productive international investment. In so doing it hopes to strengthen the economic bases of peace.

FIFTY YEARS AGO A SLEEPY LITTLE TOWN OF 10,000—TODAY A QUARTER MILLION—PALESTINE'S FAMOUS PORT CITY IS GROWING, BUSTLING, BUMPTIOUS—PLANNING FUTURE SKYSCRAPERS

THE OLD HAIFA. As affectively as the snug hat and furred sleeve of the woman at right, the sleepy shop fronts and balconed apartment windows identify pre-boom Haifa.

Haifa: 1948 Boom Town

BY M. Z. FRANK
US correspondent for Israel's leading daily

JERUSALEM, the ancient and holy, and Tel-Aviv, the modern and sophisticated, claim almost all the attention in news from Israel. But the economic future of the nascent state depends far less upon these cities than upon Haifa which is swiftly becoming the economic center of gravity not only for Israel but also perhaps for the entire Middle East.

Yet at the century's turn, Haifa was a poor, dusty somnolent town, suspended in time, forgotten by history since the days of the Crusades. Its population of 8000 Arabs, 2000 Jews, a few hundred Christians, were mainly fishermen, or artisans in the workshop of saddler and blacksmith and locksmith, workers in the tanneries or in the wholesale trades, in grains, olives, fabrics, tobacco. Still others were employed by the Hedjaz railway that the Turks had completed in 1900 to carry travelers, pilgrims, and freight from Transjordan and Palestine to Mecca and Medina.

In that same year, Theodore Herzl, founder of the Zionist movement, visited Haifa. In it he perceived geographic advantages that could someday transform it into the economic nerve plexus of the Middle East.

THE NEW HAIFA. The clean, parallel sweep of horizontal lines, the recessed windows, permanent awnings on ground-floor shops—all symbolize the bustling, seam-bursting city.

Hence in his novel *Altneuland* (Old New-Land), a Bellamy-like projection of the New Zion published in 1902, Herzl envisioned Haifa in distant 1923 as a "magnificent city" rising "beside the sapphire-blue of the Mediterranean . . . the stone dam showed the harbor for what it was: the safest and most convenient port

n the eastern Mediterranean." He w that Haifa's location at the west-n tip of the Plain of Esdraelon ade it the natural funnel to link aboard with hinterland. Herzl's pre-ction, twenty-odd years premature, now in process of being fulfilled on grander scale than even he antici-ated.

Haifa's economic development, fter World War I, was stimulated by e influx of some 13,00 European ews between 1920 and 1931, bring-ig new money, skills, and initiative. was given still further stimulus by e 1926 decision of the House of ommons to lend Palestine £1,250,-00 to extend Haifa's harbor, con-ruct piers, warehouses and storage ocks to make it into the country's premost port.

Twelve months later, the Anglo-rench-US controlled IPC (Iraq Pe-roleum Company) finished running ipelines to carry 2 million tons of il a year to Haifa's port. By 1939, n time to be of invaluable service to ritish military operations in World Var II, three large modern refineries ad been put up by British interests, he Consolidated Refineries, in Haifa.

Meanwhile, starting in 1923 the ews were establishing, at a cost of P5,387,000 the Palestine Electric orp. which supplies the entire na-ion (except Jerusalem) and Trans-ordan with electricity. A year later hey founded the Hebrew Technical ollege staffed by able chemists, hysicists, engineers, metallurgists rom Germany and the US.

From the mid-twenties forward, the ews of Haifa, sometimes by them-elves, but more often with the aid of utside capital, either set up or ex-anded such critical metal-making nd metal-working establishments as he Cluson steel works and the Vulcan oundries (casting, pipes, machine arts, batteries, bathtubs, enamel-are) and others turning out wire, ables, precision instruments. The ews also fostered among other en-erprises, the Portland Cement Works Nesher), the Ata Textile mills, the hemen Co. (oils and soap), the Nur atch factory and many more.

The ownership of Haifa business entures is often extremely compli-ated. Some are privately controlled ike the South African Binyan Mort-gage Co., Ltd. It was started 28 years ago by a group of South African Jews o grant building loans at moderate interest rates over a period of 12 years to people who wanted to erect their own homes. The flour mills (Les Grands Moulins de Palestine) are owned by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA) financed by the Paris branch of the de Rothschild family.

Then there is the Solel Boneh, Ltd., which in its corporate origins and ramifications is like nothing else in the world.

Solel Boneh is a construction company, the largest in Palestine. It is owned by the Jewish Labor Federation of Palestine (Histadrut) which is supported by Jewish trade unionists in America and elsewhere.

But Solel Boneh displays a tremendous amount of capitalistic vigor. Capitalized at around £P800,000, in addition to its construction activities, it also functions as a holding company under the name of "Koor" Industries and Crafts, Ltd. During the past seven years it has purchased Phoenica Glass, Ltd. (ampoules, window glass, bottles, vases, tubing, household glassware) and the Vulcan Foundries; acquired majority interest in the Palestine Portland Cement Works, Ltd. and the ownership of Hamgaper, Ltd. rubber products. It is now preparing to buy other existing industrial establishments, and to start new ones on its own.

THE TOWN THAT PROVES ARABS AND JEWS DO GET ALONG

Booming Haifa has acted as a magnet for new Jewish immigration. In 1946 the Jews in Greater Haifa outnumbered the Arabs by 119,000 to 96,000 (some 34,000 Christians and 5,000 "others" accounted for Haifa's mushrooming total population of 254,000 in that year).

Although the Jews set the pace, Haifa's Arabs continued to excel in the output of matches and the curing and blending of tobacco, and in such wholesale trades as cloth and leather. In 1946, the Arabs owned 11 and the Jews 8 out of 19 wearing apparel manufacturing firms. Similarly, the Arabs owned 7 and the Jews 5 of Haifa's 13 bakeries. Both groups owned 4 each of the 8 paper and printing establishments, and 3 each of the 6 tanneries. In metal fabrication, and in chemicals, the Jews—guided by experts of the Hebrew Technical College—moved out in front. Of the city's 30 metal working establishments they owned 23 and the Arabs 7; and of the city's 8 chemical plants, they owned 7 and the Arabs owned only 1.

Haifa was a genuinely bi-national community until the Arab-Jewish war. Arabs and Jews shared in the administration of the municipal government. Arab and Jewish employers co-operated in settling problems in shipping rates and labor relations. Arab and Jewish trade unions co-operated in setting basic wage scales.

But when on April 22, 1948, 800 Jewish soldiers occupied Haifa, a mass exodus of Arabs ensued, reducing their share of the population from 96,000 to 10,000. While this offered an immediate advantage to the Jews on a "to the victor belongs the spoils" basis, many Jews in Haifa prefer to return to the *status quo ante bellum*.

Meantime, the Israeli government looks upon Haifa as its potential Detroit-Pittsburgh-New York.

- They recognize its almost incredible pivotal position as the junction for railway, highway and ship traffic, national and international; as the location for export and import trade and center for heavy industry; as the distribution point for the field and orchard crops and eggs, dairy products and cattle from the nearby Emek vicinity, the most highly diversified farming region in Israel.
- The government's economic advisers believe that Haifa's town planning area can readily accommodate up to 300,000 residents and outlying suburbs another 75,000. (This estimate assumes only a horizontal expansion of dwellings and business places—but Haifa, built on rock, can if necessary become a skyscraper city.
- They observe that the record of wharf unloadings shows that they have doubled from 653,000 tons in 1939 to 1,340,000 tons for 1947; that during the same period, cargo loadings have gone up five-fold from 343,000 to 1,848,000 tons. They are determined again to enlarge Haifa's port capacity from its present 110 to at least 250 ships, and increase pipeline capacity from its current 6,000,000 to 25,000,000 tons of crude oil a year—a project well under way.
- They believe that the refineries can be more closely tied in with Haifa's chemical industry, with the latter concentrating more effectively than before on such refinery by-products as phenol and thermoplastics.

(Continued on page 54)

The high hopes for Haifa on the part of the government's economic advisers, their confidence in its future are exceeded by the Haifan Jews who talk about their city with "booster" pride. Even amid the strain of an armed and anxious truce, with its diversion of manpower and materials and money to defense purposes, Haifa has all the characteristics of a boom-town.

It is not only that prices are high, spending rapid, and behavior exuberant, nor that everyone seems busy. The bustling atmosphere crowds out the tensions of the truce. There is the sense of something astir, of something big in store, of portents of expansion.

The Jewish Chamber of Commerce and Industry is daily answering inquiries from internationally famous banks and insurance companies as to business opportunities in Haifa. Many of the more ambitious younger people of Israel are drawn to Haifa, seeing it as symbol and arena of growth. They turn toward it as the ambitious young Americans of a century ago turned toward the West.

Cuba's Big Problem

IT'S INSOLUBLE—THOUGH SUGAR—EXCEPT IN A NEW WAY OF LIFE

Cuba's bumper sugar crop of 6,675,000 tons for 1948 not only demonstrates that Cuba is the world's largest and most dependable producer of this commodity. It also poses some vexing prismatic problems for US exporters as well as for Cuba's new President-elect, the adroit 44-year-old anti-Communist politico, Dr. Carlos Prio Socarras, who takes office on October 10.

Cuba's 5 million people comprise the largest *per capita* market for US goods. In 1947 Cuba spent around a half billion dollars on food, chemicals, textiles, metals, machinery, wood products and countless other items from the US. During the first five months of 1948, US exports to Cuba stood at more than $200 million. Since sugar is Cuba's foremost cash crop, its sale to foreign markets, notably the US, tends to determine boom or bust conditions for the Island. For sugar in Cuba, like tin in Bolivia or oil in Venezuela, reflects the dis vantages of any monoproducti From 1920-43, for example, sug accounted for 85 per cent of Cub exports, ranging in different yea from 71 to 92 per cent.

Cuba's sugar industry accounts one-third of its gainfully employe and two-thirds of government re nues. At the moment, that industi with a surplus of 1,500,000 tons sugar, faces its first crisis in a doz years. Up till now, worldwide mand for sugar has been high a Cuba relatively prosperous and stab It appears, however, that Cuba H passed the peak in sugar sales.

To lessen Cuba's sensitivity to fl tuations in world sugar crops a world markets, plans have be drawn up to diversify its agricultu and in recent years rice, other grai and yucca have been planted in t hope of ultimate exports. At prese however, these products hardly me national needs.

Similarly, Cuba is anxious, throu the medium of new investment, d mestic and foreign, to exploit at more rapid rate its considerable d posits of iron-ore, chrome and ma ganese and other minerals.

But sugar, today and in the yea immediately ahead, will remain t cornerstone of Cuba's economy. T future of that economy depends, turn, principally upon US purcha of Cuba's sugar, which during t 1930's averaged 67 per cent of t total production, went up to mo than 70 per cent during the w years, but is now declining.

The US Sugar Act of 1948 cut t quantity of sugar that Cuba can sh into the US from 3,750,000 to 2,77 000 tons, or 26 per cent. The n effect of this action will be to c gradually at first, and drastically lat on, the volume of goods sold by t US to Cuba. That will be only o economic consequence. A second cou be the much-discussed and debat nationalization of the sugar industr Another, perhaps even more impo tant, will be a drop in Cuban livi standards. It could lead to econom destitution and social strife imperili the very stability of Cuba's alread precarious balance of forces.

NICOLAS RIVER

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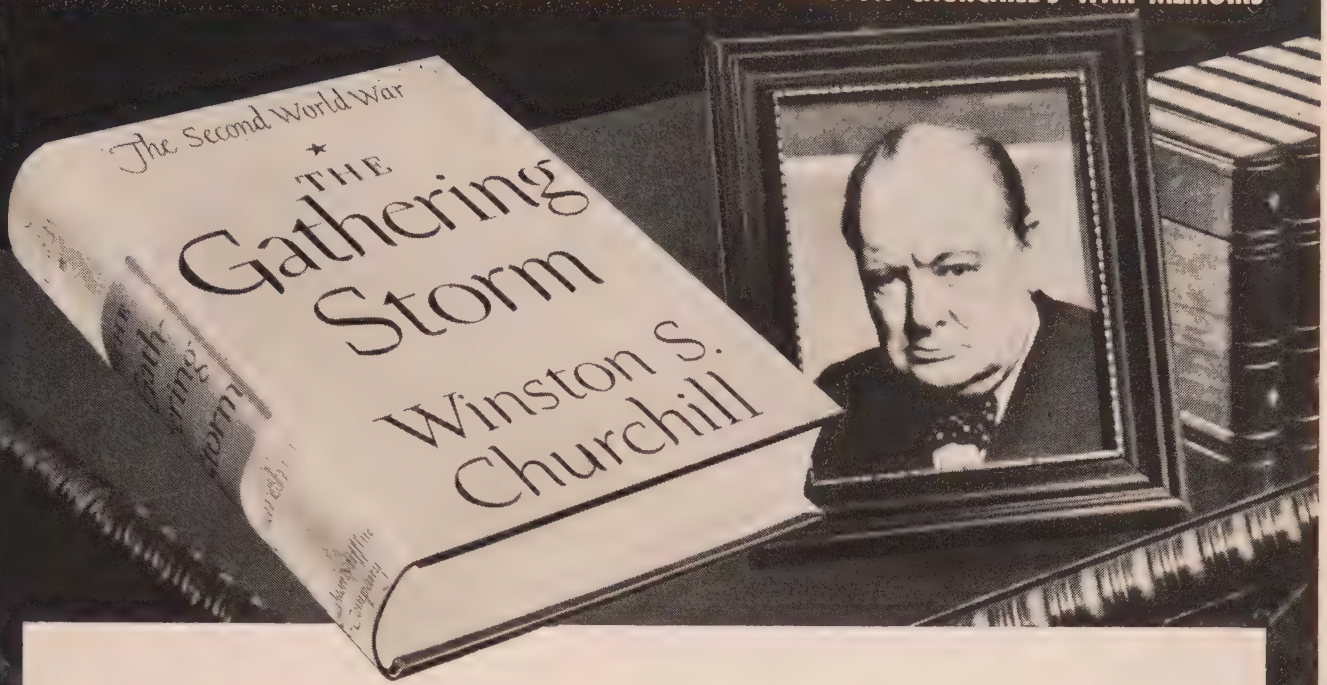

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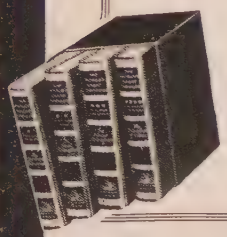

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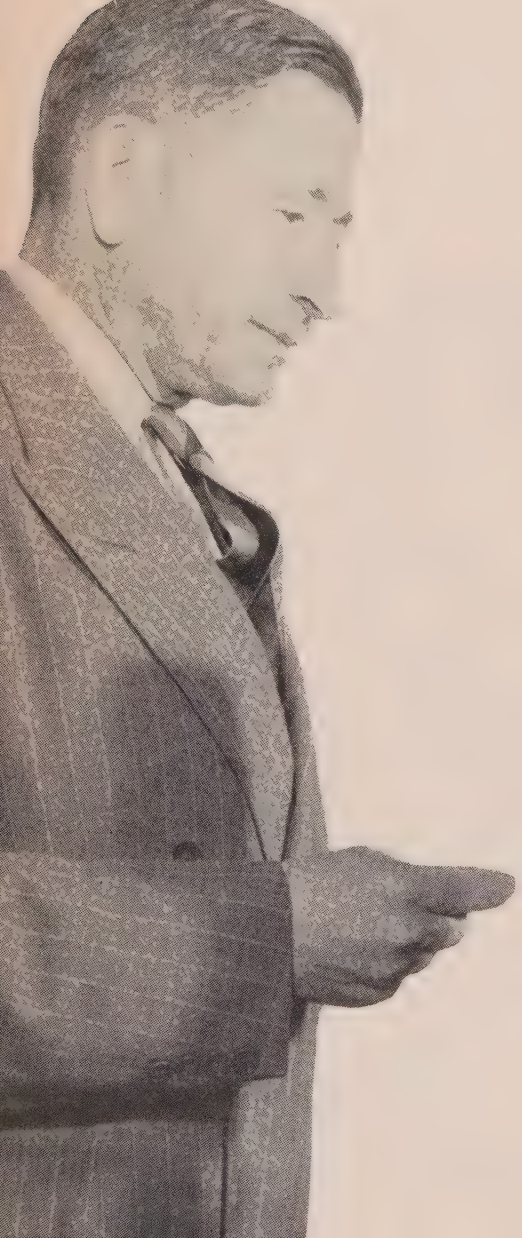
Admiral Zacharias Reports

ON HIS INVESTIGATION OF CHARGES OF SUBVERSION AMONG MEMBERS OF UN SECRETARIAT



INVESTIGATOR: Admiral Zacharias, former Deputy Chief, Naval Intelligence.

ON TWO OCCASIONS since the establishment of United Nations headquarters in the United States, international civil servants of the Secretariat General and officials of certain specialized agencies have been accused of abuses of their privileged positions while in the US.

On March 31, 1947, a well-known Washington columnist preferred certain charges against Secretariat personnel attached to the UN's Balkan Commission of Inquiry—charges which my careful investigation revealed as totally unfounded.

Recently, in their testimonies before a Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, on July 15, and on subsequent dates in 1948, three minor State Department officials named Robert C. Alexander, William Harlow and R. Clyde Larkin expressed the "opinion" that, in Mr. Alexander's own words, "several hundred subversive foreign agents have used the United Nations as a cover for their activities in this country."

Although prompt denials of the charges were issued on various official levels, I have realized throughout that, if such charges are made and permitted to go unreviewed in an objective and impartial manner, they may eventually cause grave harm to the international organization.

I was, therefore, gratified when UNITED NATIONS WORLD asked me to review both groups of charges in an informal but professional manner, utilizing my training and experience as an intelligence officer. My investigations were concluded on August 15, 1948. The following is my report, including my conclusions drawn from material and evidence accumulated.

My survey of the situation was generously aided by all concerned, including the governmental and international authorities involved. I found particular courtesy in the Secretariat of the United Nations and in the office of Sen. Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia. I obtained from Senator Revercomb's office the complete transcripts of all pertinent testimonies, running into six volumes containing tens of thousands of words.

As to the charges preferred by Messrs. Alexander, Harlow and Larkin, I found upon a conscientious survey that their testimonies were, in many instances, factually incorrect, vague; represented personal opinions or prejudices; were based on an inadequate or unjudicious interpretation of existing legislation; and contained a series of serious contradictions. Moreover, their charges were denied by their superiors, and twice denied by Secretary of State George

Marshall himself to the press. While previous charges involved but a few members of the Secretariat and those outside the United States engaged strictly on UN duties, the grave charges preferred by Messrs. Alexander, Harlow and Larkin represent a blanket accusation levelled against the UN and its agencies. Mr. Alexander was the spokesman of this trio. He first appeared before the Subcommittee on July 15, 1948, in the company of Mr. Eliot B. Coulter, Associate Chief, Visa Division, Department of State. He returned on July 16, and again on July 22. His testimonies cover a total of 308 typewritten pages in the record, spread over volumes 1, 2 and 6.

The record reveals that the hearings were conducted by the *Staff* of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Senator Revercomb, and not by the Subcommittee itself. No member of the Senate, of the Committee of the Judiciary, or of the Revercomb Subcommittee was present at the hearings. Senator Revercomb himself was at his home at Charleston, W. Va. A committee investigator, Thomas J. Davis, was in the chair throughout these hearings. Staff Director Richard Arens conducted the interrogation. Another committee investigator, Fred M. Mesmer, attended some of the hearings.

The security question concerning UN Secretariat personnel was raised, not by the Subcommittee Staff, but by Mr. Alexander who, on July 15, 1948, while discussing visa problems, called attention to "another category that has given considerable difficulty." This category he described as "international organization aliens" (vol. 1, p. 97), identifying the international organization as "the United Nations Organization, particularly, because they have a headquarters site here."

Mr. Alexander, who identified himself as Assistant Chief, Visa Division [a position he has held since 1942, after serving as the Division's technical adviser since January 1, 1929], revealed at the very outset of his testimony a certain confusion. He appeared to lump together alleged subversive agents abusing the protection of what he described as the "International Organization Immunities Act," and certain political refugees formerly attached to UN who are now unable or unwilling to return to their countries of origin. This confusion seemed to persist throughout Mr. Alexander's long testimony; its appearance may be due to the obscurity of the language in which he explained his views on this particular issue.

TESTIMONY BASED ON WRONG ESTIMATES

No extenuating obscurity, however, can explain Alexander's inaccurate estimates of the number of persons involved in his charges. He estimated that "there are maybe 15,000 or 20,000 people around who are connected in some way with the United Nations." The fact is there are approximately 5,000 persons now in the US connected in some official or semi-official capacity with UN. Most of these persons are citizens of the United States or nationals of so-called "friendly" countries.

About 600 persons are associated with the various delegations to UN—but Mr. Alexander explicitly exempted them from his charges. Others are accredited newspaper correspondents or *ad hoc* representatives of governmental or non-governmental agencies.

The UN Secretariat itself has a staff of 2,950 persons, the greatest single national group being United States citizens. Approximately 20 per cent of the staff is either permanently or temporarily stationed abroad.

Mr. Alexander estimated (vol. 1, p. 102) the "number of persons who have been brought in by the United Nations organization . . . to be undesirable from the standpoint of the best interests of the United States," at "several hundred at least" on the basis of "the cases which came to [his] attention . . . in connection with the issuance of visas." He indicated that these "cases" involve only nationals brought into the US by the UN from what he called "the Iron Curtain countries."

On August 9, 1948, I questioned and obtained in writing from the Secretariat of the United Nations at Lake Success, a roster of the personnel whose country of origin is now in the Soviet sphere. According to this list, the *total* number of employees from the so-called Iron Curtain countries is 113, including 31 from the USSR, 3 from the Ukraine, 40 from Poland, 30 from Czechoslovakia, 6 from Yugoslavia, and 3 from the non-member states of Hungary and Bulgaria.

It appears that Mr. Alexander's statement that "several hundred" Secretariat officials brought in by UN from the "Iron Curtain countries" was somewhat imaginative. His estimate that several hundreds of them were "subversive agents" is, obviously, contrary to fact.

In the course of my investigations I examined Mr. Alexander's definition of "subversion" and "subversive." I found it to be unorthodox. My conclusion was concurred in by one of Mr. Alexander's immediate superiors. On July 16, Mr. Alexander stated that "subversive agents of foreign powers . . . were brought in as employees of the UN Central (sic) Secretariat . . . as clerks, translators, experts of various kinds, advisers, and what have you" (vol. 2, pp. 155-56). He described them as persons engaged in espionage or "aliens who foment discord, agitation and other subversive activities contrary to the peace and good order of this country."

A search of the entire record failed to reveal a single item presented by Mr. Alexander in substantiation of his sweeping statement. When pressed by Staff Director Arens to present even partial or non-specific evidence, he stated that he had "some indication" of such activities in "one or two instances." He was further compelled to concede that even these persons were *journalists* accredited to, and *not staff members* employed by, the Secretariat. In a subsequent testimony (vol. 2, p. 159), Mr. Alexander repudiated his own statement of the day before, stating that "we do not know" whether "these persons have been and are now engaged in the United States in subversive activities."

A complete and unequivocal denial of the charges was presented by Charles M. Hulten, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, in his testimony before the Staff of the Revercomb Subcommittee on July 21, 1948 (vol. 5, pp. 486-531). He stated: "I know of no case where an allegation has been made that a person has engaged in such activities outside of his normal functions in the United Nations." He added: "I can think of no single case where persons working for me or with me have directed any such information to my attention."

Mr. Hulten's testimony was fully endorsed by Jack B. Tate, Deputy Legal Adviser, and Samuel D. Boykin, Director, Office of Controls, all three representing themselves as superior officers of Messrs. Alexander, Harlow and Larkin.

UN Diary *continued*

In his testimony on July 22 (vol. 6, p. 572), Mr. Alexander revised his definition of "subversion" and stated that he "deemed" subversive all persons who "were either writing or speaking or operating in organizational work in the Communist Parties in countries abroad." In another portion of the same testimony (p. 580), he stated: "In my opinion the admission of any Communist into the United States is a threat to our security."

INADEQUATE UNDERSTANDING OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS

Such an attitude reveals a proper concern for the basic security requirements of the United States, but only an inadequate understanding of the specific conditions created by the presence of UN Headquarters in the United States. Of the 58 member states, the Communists control the government in six. Were Mr. Alexander's views accepted as valid by the US Government, no Communist or Communist-controlled government could send representatives to the UN or, for that matter, to the US Government.

Mr. Alexander would, I am sure, not approve of such consistency. I ascertained, for example, that the Soviet Embassy in Washington alone employs a total diplomatic and non-diplomatic personnel of 78, while the total number of diplomatic or non-diplomatic personnel accredited to the United States from the so-called Iron Curtain states amounts to altogether 647. Of these persons, Mr. Alexander, under direct questioning stated: "I don't think there is any problem with respect to the members of the diplomatic missions, that is, the embassies and legations, because we have more people in our embassies and legations in the Iron Curtain countries than those countries have in their missions in the United States."

Space limitations prevent me to review in full in this preliminary report all the apparent misunderstandings, blatant contradictions and outright inaccuracies my own subsequent investigations revealed in Messrs. Alexander's and Harlow's statements. However, it is important to point out that, on the basis of his testimony, Mr. Alexander's apprehension appears to be based on an inaccurate interpretation and inadequate appreciation of the existing legislative structure regulating the important but complex matter of immunity for UN personnel.

I found a certain amount of confusion in Mr. Alexander's testimony concerning pertinent US legislation regulating this problem which did not pass unchallenged by the staff of the judiciary subcommittee. I have, therefore, requested the United Nations Secretariat to prepare for me an explanation of the rules and regulations governing the "entry of foreigners into the US in connection with the activities of the United Nations."

Entry, I find, is covered by Section 7 of the Public Act 291, and by Sections 11, 12, 13, and 14, as well as Article IV of the Headquarters Agreement which, approved by Congress, has been in effect since November, 1947.

Both provide complete safeguards against admission or residence of "subversive agents" in the U.S. This was conceded by Mr. Alexander (vol. 2, p. 158).

On the basis of the explicit provisions of Public Act 291 and Section 13 (b) and (d) of the Headquarters Agreement, I conclude that Mr. Alexander's fears of "subversive agents" entering the US under the cover of UN immunity are exaggerated if not unfounded.

This conclusion is fully supported by Mr. Hulten's testimony. Asked by Staff Director Arens: "Do you have any suggestions to make with reference to an amendment in the law?" Mr. Hulten answered: "So far as I can tell, the law has operated successfully. We have made no suggestions, and I have no knowledge of any."

I would like to express my regret that undue publicity was given to unsupported charges preferred on a relatively low official level by minor officials of the State Department. Mr. Alexander, himself, was aware of the implications of his accusations when on July 22, seven days after his initial charges, he stated: "I am testifying here with respect to certain possible changes in the Immigration Law . . . I mentioned the international organizations group because I felt that a security problem was involved in connection with that group. I realize that you, gentlemen, were . . . asking the various officers for their personal opinions; that you were not asking for the view of the Department or perhaps you would have called the head of the Department."

I have come to the conclusion that Messrs. Alexander and Harlow made their charges as a result of a narrow and technical interpretation of certain concessions made to an international organization. The impression is created by their testimony that they disapprove of these concessions on the ground that they enable members of Communist Parties of other countries to travel to and reside in the United States. They perhaps overlooked the fact that the number of such visitors is small in comparison with those in possession of diplomatic privileges, in whom Mr. Alexander sees no danger. The fact that Mr. Alexander and his colleagues single out the United Nations for their unsubstantiated charges reveals, one suspects, an inherent animosity on their part toward the United Nations.

By contrast, the Department of State is to be congratulated on the contribution made by Mr. Hulten and his colleagues to a clarification of the issues.

MORE SOBER VIEWS VOICED BY HULTEN

"The question of the administration of an alien seeking a visa," Mr. Hulten said in his testimony, "is a question of immigration law and, insofar as the Department of State is concerned, a political question of the relations with the country that he may represent or be coming from. It is also a question, of course, of our relationship with the United Nations which is an instrument, a significant and important instrument, of our foreign policy. It is a legal question in some cases, with an interpretation of laws involved. Each of those factors (must) be considered in the consideration of the individual case."

In conclusion I would like to state that I find myself in complete agreement with the political philosophy and security considerations expressed in Mr. Hulten's excellent statement. His is a sober approach to the problem, far better calculated to remedy those deficiencies or loopholes which Mr. Alexander and his colleagues believed to have found in the operation of existing legislation.

signed: E. M. ZACHARIAS
Rear Admiral, US Navy (Ret.)

The Trusteeship Council

treads gingerly on Tender Toes

THE Trusteeship Council met for seven sultry weeks and found much to criticize, little to praise in the first reports submitted by Great Britain, Belgium and Australia for their territories of Tanganyika, Ruanda Urundi and New Guinea.

Submission of the reports—the first—was a milestone for the Council. But they reflected disappointingly slow progress toward self-government and better living standards.

The debates which followed were usually rather dull, poorly attended, sparsely covered by the press, and had the atmosphere of remote reality associated with a sixth grade geography class.

Belgium's report on Ruanda Urundi was particularly censured. Although this is the most densely populated territory in Africa, the Government provides but one primary school, allots only 7 per cent of its budget for education. There are 35 licensed doctors for three million people. The Council recommended that the tax system, especially for the indigenous population, be eased and it cited "disappointing progress" made so far toward democratic self-government—political organs in the territory still being run by hereditary chieftains.

Though Mexico's Padilla Nervo condemned the practise of "caning," still-prevalent corporal punishment in Tanganyika, Britain was only mildly chided for its administration. After one of its wooliest debates, the Council recommended: the wage level should be raised, more medical centers and hospitals should be built, discrimination in employment, and working conditions be eliminated.

Best-run of the three was New Guinea, administered by Australia. Here again, though, the Council was dissatisfied with the high illiteracy rate and recommended a building program to replace schools destroyed by war. The Council paid tribute to the contributions made by the native population during the war against Japan, recommended that they get a greater degree of self-government, more social and economic benefits, better medical care. New Guinea is the least-explored of the three territories; one third still unexplored by white men.

The Council's reports on the trust territories are being submitted to the General Assembly in Paris for its approval. Each includes a summary of the trusteeships' records and the Council's recommendations.

South Africa, the thorn in UN's flesh, sent in a report on South West Africa, ignoring two firm recommendations of the General Assembly that it place the former League Mandate under a UN trusteeship. The Council, lacking enforcement powers, voted not to put trusteeship again to the Assembly, as urged by the USSR.

The final version of the Council's report on South West Africa is a milk-and-water affair, with all recommendations for native advancement left out. But it is not leavened, as were the reports on the three trust territories, by any kind words for the administration. It criticizes the backward native "reservations," abuse of prison labor and the fact that there are 11 hospitals beds for every 1000 Europeans, 3 for every 1000 "non-Europeans," who represent nine tenths of the population. An even worse ratio is shown in the schools. Only 10 per cent of government spending goes for education.

The council wound up its third session fully conscious of at least one unfinished job—the preparation of a statute for the internationalization of Jerusalem, willed to it last November by the General Assembly. This spring, during the Special Session of the General Assembly on Palestine, the Council failed to agree on a formula and in August, turned down Russia's request to try again. Most Council members fear deliberations now might complicate Count Bernadotte's peacemaking. Meantime, Israeli forces were in command of Jerusalem outside the old Walled City (held by Arabs) and gave all appearance of intending to stay.

For news of the most tangible result of the Council's session, see UN Accomplishments, page 64.

UNOFFICIAL GOVERNMENT IN NEW GUINEA

COUNCIL OF ELDERS meets under a tree at Port Moresby. These men are relatively urbanized, most wear shorts, the chairman a cassock-like gown. The elders' function is merely advisory, but Australian administrators are often guided by their opinions.

AT HYDE PARK, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt entertains members of UNESCO seminar. Everybody sat on the grass in cool birch shade. On log next to Mrs. Roosevelt (in sunback dress and a tan) is Dr. Y. R. Chao, seminar leader. In foreground is elderly Fala.

Where Teachers Learn

and Learners Intern

ADELPHI, on the outskirts of swankly suburban Garden City, L. I., is a typical, pleasant American college with tree-shaded lawns, casual summer students. But this summer its students have been less casual than commonly. Eighty-seven men and women from 32 different countries, who were either representatives to UNESCO's second seminar for teachers, or "internes" working at Lake Success for the summer, lived, ate and studied at Adelphi. They're on their way home now to spread the gospel of the United Nations and to combat skepticism toward it, current in their countries.

The Seminar was composed of 44 men and women from 27 nations. All experienced teachers, they had come to study methods of teaching young people about the UN. They spent five weeks experimenting with recordings and movies, attending lectures by Secretariat executives, working on "projects."

■ Johanna Tenfjord, a Norwegian author and library teacher, produced as her project a book about the United Nations written for children from 11 to 15. It tells of two little Norwegian boys whose father is an interpreter at Lake Success. They go along on all his trips around world with UN missions.

■ E. C. Carter, a red-haired Mo treal history teacher, turned out radio script, dramatizing the Wo Health Organization's stoppage the Egyptian cholera epidemic.

■ An ex-geography teacher, prese ly Gaumont-British educational fil expert, Miss Margaret Simpson, p pared a geography outline abo Africa. "I don't hold with teachi separate courses on UN," she sai "I think it should be woven right in each subject. For instance, when class is studying Africa, the U Trusteeship Council just natural comes up."

■ Miss Fe Palma, from Manil wrote a series of radio scripts c WHO.

■ Dr. Leopold Seguel, director curriculum in the Chilean Minist of Education, prepared a study pla on "Civic Education and the UN."

■ Dr. Marze Tate, history profess from Howard University, wrote pamphlet for secondary schools, e plaining atomic energy control.

■ Dr. Fletcher Peacock, superinten ent of education in New Brunswic Canada, prepared a teacher's outlin on the UN and its agencies.

■ Most of the teachers tailored thei projects to fit their own educationa set-up. Countries represented reflecte both extremes from great flexibilit for the individual teacher in plannin his own curriculum as in Australia New Zealand and the US, to centrali ization as in Poland.

■ Almost all reported some handi caps. Most nations are suffering fro a shortage of teachers. Some coun tries do not allow or do not encour age the teaching of current events The law of the Dominican Republic for example, does not permit histor to be taught past 1850. No Domini can teachers attended the seminar.

■ It wasn't all work and no play fo the global pedagogues. They discov ered the joys of Jones Beach, were entertained in private homes and in the semiprivate ones of General Eis enhower at Columbia University and of Mrs. Roosevelt at Hyde Park. Only Seminar mishaps were Miss Simp son's monumental mosquito bites and Miss Palma's sniffles caught after a nocturnal Norwegian folk dance party on the campus.

Like the Seminar members, the

60 INDIVIDUALS FROM UN COUNTRIES SPEND SUMMER MONTHS FAMILIARIZING THEMSELVES WITH UN ORGANIZATION, ITS PROBLEMS AND THE TECHNIQUE OF TEACHING WHAT THEY HAVE LEARNED TO OTHERS

43 youthful "internes" think that half the value (and most of the fun) of their summer at Lake Success is in getting to know people from other countries, their customs, their likes and dislikes and their way of looking at things.

They came from 32 different countries to work in the Secretariat, mainly as researchers. They also attended instructive lectures on the UN's structure, and almost equally informative beer parties, weekends at the Tanglewood Music Festival and, as one girl sighed, "Many, many places to go—parties and so on. People are so nice!" In fact, before the first month was up, two internes, Barbara Brady (US) and David Bettison (South Africa), each decided the other was so nice they became engaged to marry.

The interne program is sponsored by the Training Division. In charge are Dr. Sven Bjorklund and Gerard Widdrington. Most internes are students, like Theresa Rakowska, a tall, pretty Polish girl whose father is consul general in Montreal. She's studying economics and political science at McGill University, on leave from the Ministry of External Affairs in Warsaw. "I'll go back to work there," Theresa said, "but first I hope to study more about international relations at Columbia."

Theresa is enthusiastic about her colleagues. "A wonderful bunch of people, really exceptional," she says. They represent every shade of political coloring, and in after-hours bull sessions are frequently frank discussions of the East-West split. Most internes, like Theresa, think that the twain can—and must—meet.

"United Nations popularity in Poland," she said, "is due to the Society of Friends of the United Nations" (Polish branch of the World Federation of United Nations Associations). "But I am frank to say that there is growing disappointment in the United Nations among my people."

During the war, Theresa was in Warsaw and got her secondary education *sub rosa* since the Nazis forbade teaching any "dangerous" subjects like history, literature and languages. For two years after the war she attended Warsaw's Academy of Political Science, working part time in the foreign ministry.

Eberaldo Machado, a traditionally punctilious Brazilian, was chosen to come to Lake Success in a contest among junior diplomats in Rio.

He won—and he's glad because not only is he extremely interested in the United Nations, but Eberaldo also had been looking forward to seeing New York. "It is so different from South America," he chortled, "so exciting—and the pace is so much faster!" He and Theresa both agree that New York is a dirty, ugly city, but thrilling.

Eberaldo is working in the Department of Public Information's Latin American division. A lawyer trained in economics, his specialty has been the newly established Economic Commission for Latin America.

He echoes Theresa's statement that there is growing skepticism about the UN at home. "When I get back to Rio, I will try to explain, I will try to clarify people's thinking about the UN. It is so necessary. The UN is our only hope for peace."

Robert Krietz (Luxembourg), spent four years in Dachau; Rafil Manhar Singh, an Indian girl, was one of Gandhi's disciples. She traveled to Philadelphia to observe the Progressive Party's founding convention and while she was there met Henry Wallace.

The young people get no salary; their governments pay their traveling and living expenses. Eleven came on scholarships, contributed by Rotary Clubs, the Carnegie Endowment and the Hugh Moore Memorial Fund. In age they range from 21-29 (average age 25).

This is the second interne program, but the first truly international one, last year's group being mainly American. Mr. Widdrington is en route to France now to prepare for an interne program to operate during the General Assembly in Paris. It is open specifically to government employees, representatives of trade unions and of United Nations Associations and other international organizations. Three more interne programs are planned for next year.

BROADCASTS AND BOMBS AT LAKE SUCCESS

The Radio Division, which beams programs on the UN and its activities to stations in most of the 58 member countries, has an amazing record. In two years, it has had only one complaint charging lack of objectivity. This came recently from Belgium after a broadcast reporting the Trusteeship Council's debate on Belgian administration of Ruanda Urundi.

■ It feels like the afternoon before a party at Lake Success these days. Some 600 people—top department heads, secretaries and assorted functionaries—are getting official UN baggage stickers, typhoid shots and maps of Paris.

Many European staff members have left already and are taking home leaves before the Assembly opens September 21. The rest will be leaving almost daily from now until September 15, when the last General Assembly-bound ship, the Queen Mary, sails.

In addition to shipping off humans, en masse, there is a tremendous job of shipping supplies to the Palais de Chaillot. In charge is John Macrery who reports that the Stores Section has sent out everything needed, including a short ton of paper clips and a paper cutter. Also on their way to Paris are 600 typewriters (all five official languages) 3000 simultaneous interpretation headsets, 8 mimeograph machines, 600,000 sheets of printing paper for documents, thousands of reams of cut and mimeograph paper, pencils, typewriter ribbons and desk calendars—all to service the Assembly's third session which, many believe, will be its most crucial.

■ In the Press Section, there is a Munro Leaf-type Watchbird, a little tipsy looking, labeled, "This is a Watchbird, watching a UN Subvert. Were *you* a Subvert this month?"

■ Within two weeks, the United Nations was the target of a home-made bomb dropped from a Piper Cub by an obstreperous pacifist, and accusations that the UN is a nest of spies, dropped from a State Department visa chief (see page 57). The Secretariat News, biweekly mimeographed house organ, put its tongue in its cheek and wrote: "Is it true that Purchase and Supply has just ordered 3,000 cloaks (ankle-length, black) and 3,000 daggers (5-inch, automatic spring)? When will Mr. Begley (Maintenance chief) return to set up the anti-aircraft emplacements? Or perhaps the most crucial question of all—who needs to wake up whom?"

Lie's Report

A CALL FOR STUDY OF BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Secretary-General Trygve Lie released in August his annual report to the Assembly which will hold its third meeting in Paris this month. He appealed to the Big Four to make another attempt at agreement on Germany. "Nothing would contribute more to the effectiveness of the United Nations than a settlement of these differences," he said.

Concerned lest the explosive Berlin problem be brought before the Security Council as a chip on the shoulder, Mr. Lie added that, if it is brought to the UN, it must be done "only in the spirit of a genuine attempt to reach a settlement."

To the Assembly which will be faced by reports of failure from the Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commissions (see below) Mr. Lie suggested it give its attention to another phase of mass destruction — biological and lethal-chemical weapons — "probably potentially as destructive of human life as atomic weapons."

In his report, which is a summary of UN achievements, Mr. Lie declared, ". . . It is time to think of the United Nations in other terms than of an infant which must be protected from the harsh realities of world politics. . . . We should start recognizing that the United Nations has become the chief force that holds the world together against all the conflicting strains and stresses that are pulling it apart."

GENERAL AT EASE

TRYGVE LIE, beset by worries greater than one man should bear, tries to find relaxation with Penny of the funnies.

WAR AND RUMORS OF TRUCE AND DISARMAMENT

While American teen-agers were queuing up to enlist lest they be drafted, the Security Council's Commission for Conventional Armaments admitted it couldn't do the job it was set up in 1946 to do: finding a formula for reduction and limitation of armaments. The Commission, by a vote of 9-2 (USSR, Ukraine) adopted a British resolution that will virtually suspend its operations until the East and West can get together on a UN police force, peace treaties with Germany and Japan, control of atomic energy.

With the Atomic Energy Commission inactive and the Military Staff Committee still meeting but moribund, the UN's efforts at disarmament have thus virtually stopped.

■ An international bibliography of books, newspapers and magazine articles, radio scripts and movies dealing with the world's Number One headache—atomic energy—is being published by the Secretariat of the UN's Atomic Energy Commission.

The first volume covers the political, economic and social aspects of atomic energy and its control. Volume II, now in preparation, will deal exclusively with the scientific side. (Among publications listed in the bibliography is UNW.)

■ Though there were occasional flare-ups, the Palestine front was quiet. Charges of violations from both Arabs and Jews were promptly investigated by UN observers. To all intents and purposes, the Security Council's truce had successfully stopped the Holy Land war. As the peace spread, refugees, not guns, became the issue. Israel told Bernadotte that any final settlement must guarantee the safety of the 211,573 Jews living in Arab countries. Otherwise, Shertok declared, the 350,000 Arab refugees who have fled Israel will not be permitted to return home.

A few days before, Aubrey Eban, Israel's UN representative, asked the Security Council to take action against Britain for keeping 11,000 Jews in immigrant camps on Cyprus. This, declared Eban, is a violation of the truce. The Council asked all nations sheltering Arab or Jewish displaced persons to report numbers.

The Arab League, through Syria, finally put all their hopes into one last basket and proposed that the Security Council refer the whole Palestine case to the International Court for an advisory opinion. This proposal, designed to reopen the UN decision on partition and to postpone a solution based on that decision, was opposed by the US, France, USSR and Canada. It was defeated.

Israel has applied for UN membership, a move which would strengthen its hand by giving it official status.

■ The Security Council's Kashmir Commission has proposed a cease-fire order to halt fighting between Indian and Pakistan troops in Kashmir. UN military observers have visited both sides of the line and their findings

re the basis of the truce proposal. Meantime, the Commission wired to Trygve Lie, asking for more English-speaking military observers.

ECOSOC—IT SQUABBLES, COMPROMISES, MAKES HISTORY

LESS publicized but perhaps even more important than the Security Council is the 18-nation Economic and Social Council, now meeting in Geneva. Most hopeful event came in the first weeks with approval of the report of the Economic Commission for Europe. In a surprise speech, Russia's A. A. Arutunian declared that the "Soviet Union has never forgotten and will never forget the great help it received from the United States during the war." He emphasized, however, that his country felt the Marshall Plan was the wrong road to recovery, detouring as it does the UN, and he proposed that ECE become the bridge for economic cooperation between East and West.

The Council thereafter unanimously empowered ECE to promote reconstruction and development of industry and trade between Eastern and Western European countries (see East-West Trade, UNW, July, 1948).

Another regional commission report—on the Far East—was approved after bitter debates. Russia accused, and Dutch, British and American delegates denied, that they were hindering development of colonial areas. China, Australia, and New Zealand accused the US of a policy of rebuilding Japanese heavy industry to make the islands a buffer against Russia.

Though economic questions overshadowed social, a resolution officially deploring legislation that forbids mixed marriages was approved. A compromise, it also reflected US-USSR rivalry. The Americans asked for government information on the right of wives, married to foreigners, to leave the country. The Russians countered by citing American state laws which forbid marriage between Caucasians and non-Caucasians.

The Council also urged newspapers, magazines, radio stations and film producers and the UN's Department of Public Information to encourage sex equality.

Top-priority subjects remaining on ECOSOC's agenda: the declarations on human rights and on freedom of information and the convention outlawing genocide.

Summarizing the Record

UN Accomplishments

PROGRESS IN THE FIELDS OF GOVERNMENT, HEALTH, RECONSTRUCTION

THE UN SENDS FIRST economic mission to Haiti to study conditions, recommend ways to prosperity, better living standard. This is first nation to request such assistance.

Trusteeship Council sends the first of its visiting missions to Tanganyika (British) and Ruanda-Urundi (Belgian), where they will spend two months observing political, economic, social and educational conditions and steps being taken for improvement.

International Children's Emergency Fund (ICEF) votes one million dollars to extend aid to German children for four-month period. Aid will go to all four zones. Decision taken as result of study by ICEF team in Germany which reported low morale, psychological breakdown more of threat to state and people than lack of food.

ICEF sends 1,500,000 pounds of dried whole milk to children in Europe and China. Waiting at the docks for shipment are 627,000 pounds of cod liver oil.

FAO sends two soil-conservation experts to help Italy set up an oil and water conservation program and acquaint FAO's European members with soil management.

"Searchlight on the Nations," a two-reel documentary film on international communications produced by the UN Film Division, wins honorable mention at the International Film Festival in Marianske Lazne, Czechoslovakia. It will be shown shortly at theaters in the US.

Seven film producers, directors and cameramen from Belgium, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Norway and Poland have been awarded fellowships for an 8-month study period in British movie studios by UNESCO. The fellowships were set up by the British Film Producers' Association.

UNESCO sets up the International Federation of Children's Communities to coordinate activities, sponsor psychological research, train personnel, raise funds and collect books, sports equipment and so forth, for the "villages" now operating in 12 European countries for the care of war orphans.

The world's largest mass tuberculosis immunization program has started. The International Children's Emergency Fund, the World Health Organization and the Scandinavian Red Cross Associations will test about 45,000,000 European children. Those who are uninfected will be inoculated with BCG preventive vaccine.

WHO accepts invitation to use laboratories of the Pasteur Institute of Paris for research in epidemiological diseases.

Experts from six nations submit report to WHO on the use of streptomycin to treat tuberculosis.

International Bank loans $12,000,000 to four Dutch shipping companies for the purchase of six reconverted US "flattops" which will be used as cargo vessels. The loan is guaranteed by the Netherlands Government.

Economic and Social Council adopts further international controls on manufacture and use of new synthetic, habit-forming narcotic drugs.

Economic and Social Council approves sending group of UN experts to Peru to study effects of chewing habit-forming coca leaves.

Economic and Social Council unanimously approves report of Economic Commission for Europe recommending expansion of commerce between Eastern and Western European countries.

UN publishes first Yearbook of Human Rights.

BY LOUIS DOLIVET
International Editor

Intimate Report on AURIOL BLUM SCHUMAN

PARIS: When the UN General Assembly opens here on September 21, President Vincent Auriol of France will astound the world with what will probably go down is history as the most forceful address ever made by a statesman of modern times. He will unshackle the chains of protocol and speak with the candor and forthrightness of the common man, reviewing and assessing the issues dividing the post war world. President Auriol will appeal directly to the peoples of the world, calling upon them to act so that the UN can be made to work.

President Auriol's great plea to the world will reflect the lofty purposes and high statesmanship which has characterized his Presidency thus far. Observers close to the Palais de l'Elysee, watching the President's firmness through a series of political crises and his skill in dealing with the innumerable domestic problems of post war France, declare that M. Auriol is emerging as the best chief executive France has ever known.

THE BLUM RECORD— ATTACKS BOOST HIS PRESTIGE

An important element in President Auriol's strength springs from public approval of his unqualified suport of Leon Blum. The President's action enhances the stature of both. Blum particularly gains as he fights actively in the turbulent political arena combatting increasingly violent attacks from both extremes. The Communists, with their familiar tactics of concentrated fire, a year ago singled Blum out as their target. Their aim was to destroy the overwhelming intellectual influence personified by Blum as *the* philosopher of the Third Force. If Blum can be eliminated, the Communists hope that the stage would be set for their return to a coalition government. It is, of course, the Communist contention that, unless they are brought into the government, de Gaulle's triumph is inevitable.

To achieve their end they have been attacking Blum, a Socialist of more than 40 years standing, as the worst enemy of the working class of France in the last 30 years. But, with Vincent Auriol standing firmly behind him, Blum is weathering the attack and—by so doing—increasing his prestige.

SCHUMAN INTRODUCES THE CONFERENCE METHOD

As Foreign Minister, France's other elder statesman, Robert Schuman, is making his presence vitally felt in Quai d'Orsay. Replacing Georges Bidault's high-handedness with quieter but more effective parliamentary methods, one of Schuman's first acts in his new office was to arrange periodical luncheon conferences with members of the Foreign Affairs Commitees of the two houses of the Fourth Republic. It is not impossible that Schuman's initiative may lead to a French version of the American bipartisan foreign policy.

The meetings held thus far have been attended by representatives of all parties except the Communists. These luncheons are characterized by searching discussion and a frank facing up to international realities in an effort to find a way out of the present perils threatening the very existence of France.

This approach was evident in faraway Moscow where Ambassador Yves Chataigneau was constantly prompted by Foreign Minister Schuman to insist that negotiations continue under any and all circumstances. As a consequence, Chataigneau was the most conciliatory member of the western group during the conference behind closed doors in the Kremlin.

France, together with the other western powers, is convinced that all efforts must be bent to gain time—even though a catastrophe may, in the end, be inevitable. Even those who fear a clash will come ultimately, however, believe that a way out of the present impasse can still be found:

- If a compromise solution is reached on Germany.
- If an economic five-year pact is worked out between East and West.
- If the terms of this pact succeed in integrating the mainstay provisions of the Marshall Plan and the corresponding economic blueprints in the Soviet sphere.

THE ECONOMISTS SEE SILVER IN TRADE CLOUDS

The foremost economic experts in Paris and Geneva attach great importance to the fact that, for the first time since VE-Day, the Soviet bloc has surpluses of wheat, timber, fats, coal, and hides, which can be exchanged for the consumer goods and light machinery Western Europe is now turning out in increasing quantity.

They further believe that this *potential d'échange* removes the major obstacle from the path of economic cooperation between the East and West (see Achilles Heel of the Marshall Plan, UNW, July, 1948).

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This advertisement, one of a series, tells only part of a far larger story. For many years we at Westinghouse, who are your friends and neighbors, have served the world electrically. But today our more difficult mission is to use not only our electrical products, but our resources, our facilities and our counsel in helping to rebuild world economies.

Westinghouse *Electrical Products for World Progress*

On the left is an advertisement now being read by some twenty million people all over the world. This advertisement and others in this series are designed to help our friends and customers abroad to solve their basic economic problems. By talking to business and government leaders of *their own* interests, in *their own* language, this series will demonstrate how American industry is prepared to help *their* countries.

Advance copies of the advertisements in this series were sent to a representative list of government, educational and business leaders in the U. S. and abroad. A few of the many enthusiastic comments received appear below:

"*This is real business statesmanship . . .*"

"*. . . invaluable in speeding world progress*"

"*. . . most impressed by the wide scope of the plan*"

"*. . . impressive evidence of the desire of American Industry to play its part . . . for world-wide stability*"

"*. . . brilliant program . . . a marvelous example of initiative*"

If you would like to see the entire series of advertisements in this Practical Program of Action for World Progress, please write to Room 1802.

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC INTERNATIONAL COMPANY • 40 WALL STREET, NEW YORK 5, N.Y.

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